

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE



Ron Young, 8/20/74

END AID TO THIEU

Ngo Cong Duc's

Peace Tour
IN THE U.S.

FOREWARD

When I received Ron Young's letter about AFSC sponsoring my speaking tour in the United States, I did not think for a moment that I would be able to come because of the State Department's long-standing refusal to grant me a visa.

Thanks to the intercession of several Senators and Congressmen, I arrived in the U.S. on January 10, 1975.

I have since met many Americans who are actively working for peace in Vietnam and who have moved me greatly. In particular, the people in AFSC who have assisted me energetically and devotedly in each region, during my 80-day long tour that reaches 20 cities.

Thanks to AFSC, I have met with nearly 40 Senators and Congressmen, spoken at 6 seminars for Congressional and non-Congressional persons, and testified before the House Subcommittee on Human Rights. I have been able to discuss Vietnam at some length with the most prominent religious leaders in the U.S., including the President and Secretary-General of the National Conference of Bishops of the USA.

On my tour outside of Washington, D.C., I spoke at some 30 universities and schools, on 80 TV and radio stations. More than 100 newspapers covered my views and presentations.

On behalf of my friends in South Vietnam who are either in prison or struggling for peace, democracy and national reconciliation, I want to express my sincere thanks to AFSC and to those American and Vietnamese friends who have assisted me on this tour.

March 30, 1975

NGO CONG DUC

PEACE CONVOCATION

NGO CONG DUC'S ADDRESS

January 26, 1975

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On the eve of the second anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement, we gather here today, not to celebrate the peace that should have come to my country 2 years ago but for a more solemn occasion: we are here not only to prevent the Peace Agreement from becoming a mere scrap of paper but also to build again the road to peace on the basis of that agreement.

First, I want to share with all of you my grief for the victims of Mr. Thieu's war policies, for the hundreds of thousands who have died and for the millions of my compatriots who have become refugees since the signing of that peace agreement. I also want to express my regrets that you, the American people, have wasted billions of your tax dollars to maintain in power the corrupt and dictatorial regime of Nguyen Van Thieu.

As a representative of the Third Force, and on behalf of my compatriots who are either in jail or struggling to realize peace and democracy in South Vietnam, I would like to express my profound gratitude to all our friends from abroad, in particular our American friends, because you have understood our ardent aspiration for peace and have struggled with us in that same spirit.

We have committed ourselves to making peace and democratic freedoms a reality everywhere. We have chosen the path of conscience, reason and humanity.

The Paris Agreement is a document which is crucial and close to our aspirations. It recognizes and restores to my compatriots, the people of South Vietnam, the sacred right to live in peace and to enjoy the democratic freedoms every human being must have.

But for the past 2 years, the Thieu regime--with full American support and encouragement--has steadfastly refused to respect and implement the Paris agreements. Because he doesn't choose the road to peace, Thieu has brought upon himself the difficulties he is now encountering.

The present situation is the direct outcome of Thieu's decision to disregard the very peace agreement that he signed. We see today increased military clashes; we see today open rejection of Thieu's war policies by Vietnamese from all walks of life. My compatriots, moderates, conservatives and progressives alike, know full well that this man, Nguyen Van Thieu, can never bring peace to our people, and is unfit to rule our country.

The political struggle now taking place in South Vietnam is carried by Catholics, Buddhists, journalists, lawyers, senators, deputies, students, and workers. All are determined to do as much as they can to bring about Thieu's overthrow.

We Vietnamese struggle for our survival as a people; you, our dear American friends, struggle with us, not simply because it is moral to do so, but because of the honor of your country. Your government has signed the Paris Peace Agreements, and you, the American people, have to make sure that the U.S. government abide by its words and respects the agreements.

What happens if the United States continues this war policy? What if your President uses your tax money to drag out the sufferings of my compatriots? One thing is certain: The U.S. government can never succeed in winning the war for General Thieu. The reason is very simple: Thieu's war policies are opposed by the entire Vietnamese nation and condemned by most of the American people.

Thieu has used U.S. aid money to maintain the 200,000 police force which represses our people, our brothers and sisters. In recent days, 4 deputies have been critically injured by police beatings and hospitalized. A week ago, Deputy Ho Ngoc Nhuan--many of you may know him--barely escaped an assassination attempt.

We are determined to defeat Thieu's war policies. No matter how great the sacrifice, no matter what hardship, we will endure and strive in our struggle. We are confident that justice and peace will win.

In June 1974, Nguyen Van Thieu announced that if the United States continued to provide his regime with dollars, he would be able to supply enough Vietnamese lives to continue the war.

I urgently call on Congress and the American people to say No. No, not a single dollar more for Thieu. Not a dollar more to match the Vietnamese lives he offered.

Although the military situation has become very tense, my compatriots, Buddhists, Catholics, the northern refugees who are very conservative, anti-Communists, everyone, are pushing forward more and more in their struggle to overthrow Thieu. I do not see any patriotic Vietnamese--anyone--who would appeal for more aid except Thieu and Ambassador Martin themselves.

I also would like to take this opportunity to stress to my colleagues in the American press that in S.V.N., with the exception of 2 newspapers owned by the police and the army, there is absolutely no paper which wishes for aid.

They demand that no more aid should be given for destroying Vietnam and suppressing democratic freedoms and the freedom of the press. They wish to have your solidarity.

So, my American friends, do not worry about what the other side will do. Do look at the situation through our eyes, and you will see that peace is the most urgent problem for us right now.

In the beginning of this new year 1975, the Catholic church in South Vietnam called on its followers to do their utmost to restore peace. Peace for everyone means living together in harmony; it means that hatred and bitterness will give way to national reconciliation and concord, the best way to reach this peace is the Paris Agreement signed 2 years ago.

Please listen to the voice of our people; listen to their cries and look at their sufferings. Listen, and you will hear our people say/ Tell your government to leave us be, and let us live/ Let us, the people of Vietnam, decide our own political future/ Stop sending more aid because it is only used to kill our sisters and brothers. Stop the flow of dollars to Thieu, and let our compatriots now on the PRG side join with us in an atmosphere of reconciliation/ that we may together rebuild our war-ravaged country/ that we may finally live in peace and harmony.

We wish to call on the Congress and the American people, once again, to say no, no more aid to Thieu, and to work for the implementation of the Paris Agreement.

Thank you.

Cut Thieu Aid And See How He Runs, Viet 'Exile' Says

If there is anything good to be said for Nguyen Van Thieu, then why doesn't somebody speak up?

The United States government keeps giving him money, lots of money — \$3.5 million a day at the present rate, which the Ford administration believes is too low. We support Thieu in a manner even Jackie Onassis would envy, but not, it seems clear, because Congress and the American people are agreed that he has done an outstanding job as president of South Vietnam.

On the contrary, when you see the words "Thieu regime" anywhere in print, they are almost always preceded by one, two or all three of the following adjectives: corrupt, repressive and undemocratic.

So there must be some reason aside from his personal qualities for the United States government's continuing generosity to Thieu. That reason is fear and loathing of the Communist North Vietnamese, and Ngo Cong Duc thinks we're out of our minds.

Ngo Cong Duc was in Pittsburgh yesterday, having a cup of tea at the Friends Meeting Center, an old converted stone mansion on Ellsworth Avenue in Shadyside. At the Friends' invitation, he came here to talk about Thieu.

It's a subject close to his heart. Until Thieu chased him out of the country three years ago, Ngo Cong Duc was in the National Assembly of South Vietnam.

Before that, he had been, in Time magazine's phrase, "a defender of the status quo," the Catholic son of a wealthy landowner assassinated by the

Viet Minh during the 1950s. Duc himself, according to the New York Times, made a fortune selling ice — I kid you not — to American soldiers.

Then in 1967 he ran for the National Assembly and won. Soon afterward, quite unexpectedly, he was calling for an end to the war and the establishment of a neutral provisional government. He bought a newspaper — Tin Sang — and wrote editorials saying, "Yankee, go home."

Nguyen Van Thieu was not pleased. The next thing Duc knew there were bombs going off in his newspaper office and his house. "Explosives," he said yesterday. "And you know when I ride in my car I have all the windows closed because they would use acid, throw acid



Roy
McHugh

Columnist-at-large

They also threw rocks and eggs. And he was minding his own business in a restaurant once when a politician on Thieu's side let him have it in the face with a mouthful of beer.

Duc, 36 then, took a punch at the guy — and wound up in jail on a charge of

attempted murder. Five days later, pressured by the assembly, Thieu had to turn him loose.

He was running for office again — "now a national personality," Time magazine reported, "and in any fair election an odds-on favorite to win." It wasn't a fair election. Thieu's men counted the votes. Ngo Cong Duc did not win.

It became prudent for him to leave South Vietnam. His wife and son stayed behind. They are not in danger. "A woman or children..." Duc shook his head. "In Vietnam, the people do not permit them to be hurt."

"Also," he said, "I have a brother-in-law in the assembly. I have a lot of friends who are very high-ranking in the government."

Nor are finances a problem. Although Thieu closed Duc's newspaper, his family is still rich. He has a residence in Paris and one in Stockholm.

Duc is aligned with the Third Force, one of the three components of the National Council of Reconciliation and Ac-

cord created by the Paris cease-fire agreement. He wants the United States to take President Thieu off welfare.

"Thieu says, 'We need the United States dollars. We have enough Vietnamese lives. With the dollars we can continue the fighting.' If you give Thieu one billion dollars you will lose more money and the Vietnamese will lose more lives.

"But if your government would declare publicly we don't support Thieu any more, you will see him run away."

Duc describes the Third Force as made up of Catholics, Buddhists, students and press. "We fight Thieu," he said. "This does not mean we cooperate with the PRG" — the Provisional Revolutionary Government, formerly the Viet Cong — "but we believe that as long as Thieu remains in power the situation becomes worse and worse. The PRG will get stronger."

"We agree to a coalition with the PRG because they have a right to live in South Vietnam and contribute to rebuild

the country, and if we don't let them have that right we don't have peace."

"South Vietnam will not communize — will not be taken over by the North Vietnamese. Maybe you are anxious about the offensive, but we in South Vietnam believe that the PRG want peace and we believe that North Vietnam doesn't want to create any reason for the foreigners to come back."

"Through the press in the United States, I learn that your government accuse the PRG and the North Vietnamese of violations of the Paris agreement, but we know it is because the Thieu government will not implement the agreement, will not release political prisoners and let the council organize elections."

"But can you live with the Communists?" someone asked Duc.

"Why not?" he said. "Why not? I hear there will be a bloodbath if the Communists come in. But in these last two years we have 100,000 people killed already. You think a bloodbath is a larger number than 100,000? We don't. We want to stop the war."



James A. Wechsler

WHO'S 'PROTECTING' WHOM?

What could Henry Kissinger say to Ngo Cong Duc if they met face-to-face before an American TV audience?

Duc is a 39-year-old Roman Catholic who was a leading voice of the "Third Force" in Saigon until his newspaper was suppressed, his legislative seat stolen in a rigged Thieu-run election and his life so plainly endangered that associates persuaded him to flee to Paris late in 1971.

But his voice is still being heard. Talking with him the other day as he prepared to leave for Washington to take part this weekend in the national "Assembly to Save the Peace Agreement," I kept envisaging a public confrontation between Duc and Kissinger. It could finally resolve any debate about our continued support for Thieu.

That, of course, is why Kissinger will not even listen to Duc in private. For the story of this slender, pale, sad-eyed man is the answer to the mythology—and fraud—on which Kissinger's last-ditch stand in Indochina is based.

"The non-Communist forces in Vietnam were stronger after the Paris agreement than they are now," Duc said.

"They may lose any opportunity to survive if the war drags on. The only solution is the ouster of Thieu and the creation of a coalition government."

And, he adds vehemently, it is the mindless U.S. commitment to Thieu that is barring the way.

For too many interminable, tragic years—before and after Kissinger's advent—the rationale of U. S. efforts to save Thieu's regime has been the cry that his departure and the emergence of any form of coalition rule would lead to a "bloodbath" in which independent Vietnamese would be indiscriminately slaughtered.

Yet throughout that period I have met a long succession of such Vietnamese—Buddhists, Catholics and other breeds of non-Communists—whom we were ostensibly protecting. And each one has wryly rejected the apprehensions expressed in their behalf by Kissinger.

In many ways, however, Duc's evolution is almost the classic commentary on that dogma. His father, a wealthy canton chief in the Mekong Delta, was killed by the Communists twenty years ago. Duc grew up as an ardent Vietna-

nese nationalist; the newspaper he ran followed a steadfastly Social Democratic, anti-Communist policy. Who might have been more disposed to beseech our "protection"?

His initial heresy—both as a journalist and as an articulate member of the Assembly—was his fight for minimum democratic liberties in the Saigon regime in return for reconciliation with Thieu.

But Thieu obdurately scorned such overtures. Instead he subjected Duc and his newspaper to ruthless harassment and mounting terrorism, finally driving him into exile.

Thus Thieu, in this as in so many other cases, transformed a moderate pleader for democratic reforms into an implacable adversary and an advocate of coalition. And Kissinger, by pursuing a course that alternately baffles and angers Duc, nourished his conviction that the U.S. had become the road block to peace.

Duc's case-history is characteristic of many in the "Third Force" whom I have met.

When he is reminded of Kissinger's expressions of concern about what the Communists would do once a coalition was formed, he comments with some bitterness:

"Tell him not to be anxious about *our* destiny—let us worry about ourselves."

"We can survive with the PRG [the Viet Cong]. We believe the North wants time to rebuild. It knows how Indo-Asian opinion would react to a takeover. It knows there are two million Catholics in South Vietnam who would not lie down."

"Peace would give us a chance to cooperate economically with the North in reconstruction."

"Your support of Thieu is not in the interest of the Vietnamese people. It only means more Vietnamese will be killed. Stop supporting Thieu and he will run away, and we will have a chance."

Then he reverts to the theme that prolongation of the war can only undermine the "Third Force" and pave the way for new, decisive breakthroughs by the PRG.

Does Henry Kissinger pretend to know something that men like Duc, who have put their lives on the line for freedom, do not know about their own country?

Duc points out that support for coalition is steadily increasing, with widespread endorsement from Catholic leaders—including his cousin, the Archbishop of Saigon. Is everyone out of step but Thieu and Kissinger?

As he laments the unending war, Duc speculates with mingled sarcasm and sorrow: "Does Kissinger want to show he can't be defeated? That if they try to defeat him, they will be destroyed?"

Duc will be a principal speaker at the Peace Assembly on Sunday. His words deserve more than perfunctory coverage. They might even reach Gerald Ford and inspire him to ask Kissinger some hard questions.

JAN 23 1975

Quit aiding Thieu, says Viet editor

By Robert Gruenberg
Of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The current Saigon regime of President Nguyen Van Thieu would fall if the United States refused to give it the proposed \$300 million in additional aid and the change would be to South Vietnam's benefit, says a leading Vietnamese editor and politician.

Ngo Cong Duc, 39, a former member of the National Assembly, was imprisoned briefly in mid-1971 by the Thieu government. Duc's paper, Tin Sang (morning news), with a circulation of 100,000, was closed in February, 1972, shortly before he was sentenced to three years in prison.

He now lives in Sweden and France, having left South Vietnam secretly, according to the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), which is sponsoring his current two-month trip to the United States.

Formerly general secretary of the Socialist bloc in Vietnamese politics, Duc believes the United States is practicing "imperialism" in Vietnam, controlling Thieu so that it can dominate the war-torn Southeast Asian country.

A COLLAPSE of the Thieu regime would help his country, he told reporters at lunch Wednesday, because it would pave the way for a take-over by a coalition government of "national reconciliation," neither pro-nor anti-Communist.

Duc said such a coalition government would include Communist elements of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), but insisted that this would not lead to control by Hanoi-oriented officials.

"We are not anxious about the PRG or the North Vietnamese. We are not anxious about the so-called 'blood-bath' in the future," he said.

Duc said the elements he describes as "the third force" in Vietnam — Buddhists, intellectuals, liberals, elements of the upper class and others — could achieve a stability in Vietnam that would assure its independence and be neither in favor of, or against Washington or Hanoi.

HE SAID Hanoi could not impose a dictatorship on Vietnam by force because it would

Chicago Daily News



Nguyen Van Thieu

require a million soldiers to do so.

He explained the current military operations by North Vietnam, despite the 2-year-old Paris peace agreement, as "pressure" to get the United States to dump Thieu.

The \$300 million proposed by President Ford as additional aid to the \$700 million already being given the Saigon government should be withheld — but even with additional help, the current regime could not last more than a year, he said.

Holyoke (Mass.) Transcript-Telegram, Saturday, Feb. 1, 1975

Third Force In Vietnam Spokesman Here Tonight

A spokesman for the Third Force in Vietnam, Ngo Cong Duc, will speak at the Formation Community at Mont Marie tonight at 8 p.m. The public is invited to attend.

Duc is an outspoken critic of President Thieu and of American involvement in Vietnam. He is being sponsored by the Western Mass. area Catholic Peace Fellowship and Clergy and Laity concerned.

A former member of the South Vietnamese parliament and former editor-publisher of a Saigon newspaper, he is an exile leader of the Third Force which is composed of people neither pro Thieu nor Communist.

Between 1967 and 1971 Duc was general secretary of the Socialist bloc in Vietnam and chairman of two parliamentary committees, one on anti-corruption, the other on information. He was a congressman for four years.

In an article which appeared in 1970 in the "New York Review of Books", Duc suggested a peace plan which had many Springfield similarities to the agreement from the Wesson Memorial reached in Paris three years later. Medical reports indicate that he needs rest.



Ngo Cong Duc

He left South Vietnam clandestinely through Cambodia and Thailand and received asylum in Sweden in 1972. He has lived in Sweden and France since then without his wife and son, still in Vietnam.

Dr. John E. Deady, superintendent of schools in Springfield, has been discharged from the Wesson Memorial Hospital. Medical reports indicate that he needs rest.



Boston Sunday Globe
26-1-75

'Anyone care to give again to Vietnam...?'

Two sides of Vietnam 'flexibility'

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is campaigning in Congress for more "flexibility" in his conduct of foreign policy.

He and the President point to the intervention of Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) in the Soviet trade agreement as the kind of thing that Congress must not do if glorious summit deals are to be consummated by the Executive Branch.

They are plainly hoping that their reproaches to Jackson for trying to meddle in the internal affairs of another nation will help them as they launch yet another attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, the country they cannot leave alone.

Kissinger is briefing members of Congress on the advisability of voting \$300 million more in emergency aid to further what he calls impersonally "this government's policy to leave a stable government in Vietnam after withdrawal."

For the 10 years of active American participation, the House was elaborately different in affairs of state. But last November, 75 new Democrats were elected, many of whom grew up marching against Vietnam policy.

Here is a sampling of the different audience Kissinger is facing:

Tom Harkin, 34, of Iowa. As a congressional aide on a Saigon mission, he took pictures of the tiger cage prisons where enemies of the regime were confined.

"No way," he says of further aid and comfort for Thieu.

Toby Moffett, 30, of Connecticut. He quit HEW as a youth adviser

MARY McGRORY

er in a blaze of publicity, protesting the Cambodia invasion.

Ned Pattison, 42, of New York. He began speaking out against the war in 1966.

Stephen Solarz, 34, of New York, a freshman member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He cut his teeth in politics by managing an antiwar candidate.

"I've heard it all before," he says of arguments that we must provide more arms to Thieu because Russia and China continue their aid to the other side.

Men of such mind are far more receptive to a visiting South Vietnamese opposition leader, who is here campaigning as hard against the money as Kissinger is for it.

Ngo Cong Duc, 38, was born in the Mekong Delta of an old, conservative Catholic family, the son of a prosperous planter who was killed by the Viet Minh during the war with the French. He is a cousin of the Archbishop of Saigon.

Duc was educated in Saigon in Catholic schools, became editor and owner of the Saigon Morning News, and in 1967 won election to the National Assembly as a peace candidate.

His paper was firebombed twice for its anti-American and anti-Thieu policies, suspended innumerable times and confiscated; his home was firebombed once. Three years ago, he went into exile. He came to Washington at the invitation of the American Friends Service Committee to persuade Americans to stop subsidizing the war.

The committee is one of the groups sponsoring the "Assembly to Save the Peace Agreement" being held this weekend.

Duc represents what he calls "the third force" in Saigon, a non-Communist, anticorruption movement made up of Catholics, Buddhists and refugees who are opposed to Thieu and American meddling.

If the Americans stop sending money, Duc maintains, "Thieu will run away with his pockets full," the North Vietnamese will withdraw their troops from the south, and the Viet Cong and the third force will form a government.

"The Paris agreements created a new political force," he says, "but Thieu will not accept them. He is more dictatorial than the Communists. He does not serve the people. I hear about bloodbath. Fifty thousand people a year have been killed since the peace. Is this not a bloodbath?"

Vietnamese Catholics turned publicly on fellow-Catholic Thieu last Autumn, but a bloody demonstration in October ended the confrontation period. Since then, says Duc, the Catholics have organized quietly in each diocese with local priests as leaders.

"I don't accept communism," he says, "but I know they are patriotic and patriots always work for the future of our country."

Duc, in his way, is arguing for flexibility as Kissinger is in his.

"All we ask," he says, "is to have a chance to make our own choices."

Mary McGrory is a syndicated columnist.

That 29-year war

By Richard L. Strout

Washington
Ngo Cong Duc, a critic of South Vietnam's President Thieu, speaks mildly and makes deprecatory, revolving gestures with his slender hands. He is touring the country under the auspices of the Friends Service Committee. A group of reporters watches politely but speculatively. His thesis is that President Ford's proposed supplemental aid won't save the Thieu government, and that the time has come for a "third force."

Vietnam is back in the news again. Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the Republic, Sept. 2, 1945. Civil war started the next year: they have been fighting in the little ex-French colony for 29 years.

The United States actively entered the war 10 years ago to block off feared Chinese and Communist hegemony, but that seems far back, too; President Nixon visited Peking in Feb., 1972, and Moscow the same year. The U.S. combat troops have been taken out. At one time they reached 525,000; now they have all been withdrawn except 56,000 who won't come back.

Mr. Duc is 36 but looks younger, as Vietnamese always seem to do; he has a slender frame and speaks mildly, in broken but acceptable English. Over the weekend he has addressed an interdenominational group that wants to reactivate the cease-fire peace agreement signed in Paris, Jan. 27, 1973. They are anti-Thieu and antiwar, and are trying to get Congress to cut back aid.

By contrast President Ford wants Congress to vote a supplemental \$100 million "to prevent aggression and violation of the Paris accord" by the Communists. Last year Mr. Nixon asked \$1.4 billion for military assistance (with more for economic aid) but Congress cut it to \$700 million. Today Saigon's position seems to be deteriorating and Mr. Ford urges more help.

Reporters question Mr. Duc skeptically. How can a third force emerge at this stage of the game, they ask? His tone remains level; he does not seem to be a firebrand. His father was assassinated 20 years ago by revolutionaries; he is a Roman Catholic and his cousin an archbishop. He was editor-publisher of Tin Sang (Morning News) with a circulation of about 100,000, and chairman of the Vietnamese Association of Newspaper Editors. He was general secretary of the socialist bloc in Vietnam, and chairman of two parliamentary committees, one on anticorruption, the other on information.

Time magazine called him a popular candidate in the 1971 National Assembly elections. He was defeated, however, and charges harassment and assault. He called for withdrawal of U.S. forces and for a provisional neutralist government of "national reconciliation." He was jailed for five days, released (after a sympathetic vote of the lower house of the National Assembly); his paper was closed and, in February, 1972, he slipped away (leaving wife and son behind) after being sentenced to three years in prison.

It seemed unlikely to dubious journalists that Mr. Duc would be the instrumentality for bringing peace to Vietnam. But who will bring it? It was Oct. 26, 1972, just before the election, that Secretary Kissinger told a big press conference, including some of these same reporters, "We believe that peace is at hand." It is true that U.S. troops are gone, and Dr. Kissinger won a Nobel Prize, but fighting continues. President Ford puts the blame on the Communists. Maynard Parker, connected with Newsweek, writing in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, feels that the Thieu forces may have "never really intended to implement the (Paris) truce." The Parker article is titled, sadly, "The War That Won't End."

Exiled Viet Official Speaks in Shadyside

U.S. Urged to Drop Thieu Support

By JOYCE GEMPERLEIN
Post-Gazette Staff Writer

United States support of the Saigon government of President Nguyen Van Thieu should be withdrawn immediately, according to an exiled former member of the South Vietnam National Assembly.

Ngo Cong Duc, a member of the Third Force — a faction supporting neither Thieu nor the Provisional Revolutionary government — said yesterday that Thieu should be ousted because he will not abide by the Paris peace agreement and wants to continue the war.

Withdrawing U.S. dollars, arms and moral support would cause him "to run away because he survives with that assistance," Duc said.

Peace — the only thing South Vietnamese want — will never come under an administration such as Thieu's, Duc asserted.

He also was editor of Tin Sang, the country's largest opposition newspaper. It was confiscated 285 times and finally closed in 1972. Newspapers, he said, reflect the people's opposition to Thieu.

They have organized several demonstrations against government policies.

During the time of his editorship — from 1967 to 1971—Duc was a deputy in the national assembly. He was jailed in



NGO CONG DUC

1971 and went into exile in France and Sweden. His wife and son have not been permitted to leave Vietnam.

Duc spoke yesterday at the Friends Meeting House, Ellsworth Avenue, Shadyside. He and a busload of citizens from the Pittsburgh area will be in Washington Jan. 25-27 to lobby against the Ford administration's proposed plan to allot \$300 million in arms to South Vietnam.

Despite reports of mounting North Vietnamese offensives in South Vietnam, Duc said his country would never be communized.

Duc said he believes in social democracy and is convinced that South Vietnam can survive with a coalition government but not a Communist regime.

It is imperative that Thieu be ousted — with or without a shove from the United States — for the country to maintain economic and political stability, he said.

"The only way now for my country is peace," he added. "If the United States sends more money to Thieu, you would lose money and we would lose lives."

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
January 16, 1975

Ngo Cong Duc A Vietnamese protests

Thieu is using U.S. dollars to perpetuate regime

Mr. Duc, 39, is a leader of South Vietnam's political "Third Force." A newspaper publisher and former member of South Vietnam's parliament, Mr. Duc was driven into political exile by the Thieu regime. He is in the U.S. warning against continued support for Thieu. Here is what he said in a recent visit to The Bulletin:

If in 1973 the Saigon side had leaders willing to carry out the Paris Agreement, they would not have found themselves placed in such a disadvantageous position today. But Saigon and Washington both misjudged the situation.

President Thieu was allowed to launch offensive operations, bomb the other side, deny democratic liberties, prevent the release of political prisoners, and block the establishment of a tripartite council to hold free elections for a new government in the South — all in violation of the Agreement.

Because the Saigon regime clung to war at a time when most Vietnamese longed for peace, it became increasingly isolated from the population.

Diehard anti-Communist Catholics, the last to abandon Thieu's sinking

ship, have recently declared that they are for peace. For them, peace means coexistence and implementation of the Paris Agreement.

All President Thieu has left are a handful of corrupt accomplices and American taxpayers' dollars. His military and police forces exist only because these structures provide a means of livelihood for the hundreds of thousands who are unemployed. Besides, there are severe penalties for draft resisters.

Morale has dropped considerably within the army and the police ever since the northern Catholic refugees, once the mainstay of the regime, withdrew their support from Thieu.

As a result, Thieu must now cope with military pressures from without, and political opposition from within.

From without, the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) has taken over a number of towns, largely because the Saigon military has lost the will to fight.

From within, Thieu's base of support has disintegrated. In fact, from the very moment the Catholic anticorruption movement issued Indictment No.

1, charging Thieu with six specific crimes of corruption, his political life was finished. Buddhists, Catholics, northern refugees, the bar and press associations have all demanded Thieu's resignation.

All further American efforts to save Thieu are by now futile. Continued aid to Thieu will only cause more difficulties for the non-Communist side.

If the United States is really interested in preventing a Communist takeover of South Vietnam, it should cease aiding Thieu. That would speed up his departure, at which point a new leadership will emerge to take his place.

The Saigon side still has a chance to achieve political stability.

By demonstrating its willingness to accept peace, the new administration would not be as isolated as the Thieu regime would be in a National Council of Reconciliation and Concord (the body that would be set up by the 1973 Peace agreement to organize free elections).

The Council could promote negotiations between North and South Vietnam, and probably obtain a nonaggression pact and the withdrawal of North Viet-

namese troops in exchange for recognizing the necessary and legitimate presence of the PRG within the South Vietnamese community.

Are we naive to believe that reconciliation is possible with the PRG? Even assuming the worse, which is betrayal of our trust, the number of people killed would never be as great as those now killed in the continuing fighting. Most of the corrupt people would have fled the country along with Thieu.

For my part, I do not accept Communist methods. But I realize that the Vietnamese Communists also love their country. It is our common patriotism which will allow the South to have reconciliation and concord.

I expect that North Vietnam, because it has peace and concentrates on economic development, will become wealthy and strong within the next five years. I want the South to also have peace so we can turn our attention to reconstruction. Prolongation of the war will only weaken our economy even further, help give the PRG an upper hand, and place the South in a position of dependence on the North.

the sopranist

Vol. 23 No. 2

Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 01060

February 6, 1975

2 p.m. at Merrill, A.C. and 7:30 p.m. at SC—
Ngo Cong Duc, spokesman for Third Force in
Vietnam, editor of newspaper Tin Sang.
Sponsored by the Valley Peace Coalition.

MONDAY, FEB. 3

MOVIES
7:30 p.m.—Fishteating Creek. Audubon film-
lecture, with Richard Kern. Sage Hall, SC. \$

THEATRE
6 p.m.—Auditions for UMass Music Theatre
Guild production of "Pirates of Penzance," by
Gilbert and Sullivan. Open to all in the five-
college community. Those auditioning should
come with a song prepared. Colonial Lounge,
Student Union, UMass. Information: Eugene
Niles or Avis Yuni, 545-2149 or 545-0783. Show
to be April 3-6.

8 p.m.—Indian Dance Opera, "Prahlada
Bhakti Vilaya," performed by Kamala Group.
Free tickets required, available at box office.
Flanagan Studio Theatre, SC.

LECTURES AND WORKSHOPS

8 p.m.—Ngo Cong Duc, spokesman for the
Third Force, expelled from Vietnam for
political activity against Thieu. Sponsored by
the Valley Peace Coalition. Student Union
Ballroom, UMass.

8 p.m.—Ngo Cong Duc. See Sun. At Campus
Center 113, UMass.



NGO CONG DUC

Aid to Vietnam criticized

by Michele McKnight

Ngo Cong Duc, former publisher
of the Saigon Morning News ad-
dressed a small group in the
Chapel Lounge last Sunday
evening concerning "Third Force
and U.S. Aid in Vietnam". In 1970-
1, Mr. Duc suffered punishment
and a prison term for his published
criticism of the Thieu regime. As
spokesman for the Third Force, he
is currently petitioning in
Washington to cease U.S. funds of
the Saigon government.

The Third Force is a politically
neutral organization which op-
poses the Thieu regime and ex-
pects that without U.S. funds,
Nguyen Van Thieu would
relinquish his presidency. Mr. Duc
suggested that there were many
'competent and willing anti-
'communists' waiting backstage to
succeed Thieu but did not
laborate. He was accompanied by
friend and advisor Duong Minh
Duc, whose father is a South
Vietnamese general and popular
political alternative to Thieu.

During the speech and a
question-answer period, Duc
described the government's illicit
business practices, the coercion of
South Vietnamese poor to join the
army, and strict surveillance by
Saigon's Intelligence Agency. (In
response to public accusations of

government corruption, for
example, Thieu allegedly denied
the accusations but then drew
parallels between his ad-
ministration's behavior and
American presidential conduct.)
Duc also discussed the
beleaguered status of the Viet-
namese press ("There are only two
pro-Thieu publications - one is
issued by the police, the other by
the army."), Vietnamese sen-
timent toward the U.S. govern-
ment, and the definition of South
Vietnamese nationalism.

Duc claims that the populace and
the Thieu regime are vastly
alienated, and that the South
Vietnamese consider their current
leader an unpatriotic opportunist.
The Third Force advocates an
immediate reconstruction period,
possible only during a time of
peace. But the '54 and '73 peace
agreements, first violated by the
Saigon regime, have not been
obeyed. Consequently, the Third
Force's solution is to replace Thieu
with a popular leader who would
respect these peace agreements.
Mr. Duc commented that he
failed to understand the motive
behind the U.S. government's
cumulative billion dollar in-
vestment in what he considered a
wasted military expenditure.

Anti-Red South Viet Calls For End Of U.S. Arms Aid To Saigon Regime

By WATFORD REED
Journal Staff Writer

An anti-Communist refugee from South Vietnam believes that the United States can speed the coming of peace to his blood-bathed homeland by ending help to the Thieu government in Saigon.

He is Ngo Cong Duc, who was editor and publisher of Tin Sang — "Morning News" — in Saigon and a member of the South Vietnamese Parliament for four years. He is a leader of the "third force," which is against both communism and Nguyen Van Thieu, head of the Saigon government.

"I should like the United States to stop military aid to Saigon," Duc said in Portland.

"The Saigon government is corrupt and dictatorial," he went on in broken English.

"If the United States gives more military aid to Thieu, the war will be intensified.

"We are sure the American people will not agree to give millions of dollars to let South Vietnamese people be killed.

"We are sure that \$300 million won't make Saigon succeed. But it can make more problems for the South Vietnamese people as they seek to implement the Paris peace agreement.

"Stop aid to Thieu. Let him run away!"

Duc saw little likelihood that communism would take over his homeland and gave these reasons:

—Most South Vietnamese do not want communism.



NGO CONG DUC
... seeks conciliation

Vietnamese are afraid of the Communists," he said.

—The National Liberation Front, the Red fighting machine, has only 300,000 soldiers in South Vietnam, including North Vietnamese.

But there are 1.1 million men in the South Vietnamese army, 2 million in the militia, 200,000 in the police force and 300,000 in the government administration, he said.

"How could the NLF take over South Vietnam by force?" Duc asked.

"We know how to stop the Communists (and keep them from taking over)," Duc declared.

"If it seems that we couldn't survive in a coalition government, we wouldn't accept it. But we know how to handle them. It is necessary for our survival. South Vietnamese leaders are vigilant because they know what would happen to them.

"The NLF wants power. We want power, too. We are willing to compete with the NLF.

"They wouldn't get the majority of votes in South Vietnam. The people are strongly anti-Communist."

Duc pointed out that about half the Catholics, who are 12

to 15 per cent of the South Vietnamese population, are refugees from the North Vietnamese.

"I am not for communism," he said. "I want to reconcile both sides."

Duc's newspaper was the biggest in Saigon in the late 1960s, with a circulation of about 100,000. Issues of the paper were seized 285 times between 1970 and 1972 and it was shut down by the Saigon regime in February, 1972.

Duc, now 39, was a leader of a group of anti-Thieu members of Parliament. He says the election was rigged against him and that ballots cast in his favor were destroyed in 1971.

He fled after the election and now is a resident of Sweden.

He is a Catholic and cousin of Nguyen Van Binh, Catholic archbishop of Saigon.

Duc is on a speaking tour of the United States under auspices of the American Friends Service Committee.

AMONG THE SPEAKERS, ETC.

Senator JAMES ABUREZK & GEORGE MCGOVERN: Representatives BELLA ABZUG, RON DELLUMS & ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN; NGO CONG DUC, former publisher and legislator in Saigon, prominent Catholic exile leader of the Third Force; THICH THIEN CHAU, President, Vietnamese Overseas Buddhist Association in Paris; FRANCES FITZGERALD, author of Fire in the Lake; RICHARD FALK, Professor of International Law, Princeton University; ANITA GRADIN, member of Sweden's Parliament and Chairman of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam; Methodist Bishop PAUL WASHBURN, member of recent religious delegation to North Vietnam; Rabbi BALFOUR BRICKNER, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; I. F. STONE, Journalist; JULIUS HOBSON, City Council, Washington, D.C.; Indochina activists FRED BRANFMAN, TOM HAYDEN, LARRY LEVIN, DON LUCE, RON YOUNG; HOLLY NEAR, singer; Members of Parliament and religious leaders from Canada and Europe.

assembly to
save the
peace
agreement

JANUARY 25, 26, 27

Exiled Leader Opposes Thieu Aid

By Thomas P. McDonnell
(Pilot Staff Writer)

President Ford's proposed \$300 million in supplemental military aid for South Vietnam would do nothing more than further subsidize the anti-democratic regime of President Thieu, Ngo Cong Duc said in a press interview sponsored last week (Jan. 30) by the American Friends Service Committee here.

Ngo Cong Duc, nephew of Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh of Saigon, is currently in forced exile from South Vietnam. He is a leading figure in the Third Force movement, which opposes President Thieu in favor of a coalition government, but not a Communist regime, with already existing populist support.

Catholic opposition to President Thieu, Duc said, though previously stable in its traditional backing of a strong anti-communist government, is now widespread and vocal. Many priests, he added, have been jailed for their active opposition to Thieu.

Catholic support, one of the last large blocks of support more or less counted on by South Vietnam regimes, has in many instances aligned with Buddhist elements in opposition to the government.

Former publisher-editor of Tin Sang (Morning Star), Duc said that no newspapers now support the Thieu Regime.

"Well," he added, "there are two—those of the police and the army."

Duc said that control of Catholics has been both the last resort of the

Thieu regime and the last straw for Catholics working in the government and serving in the army.

"They lose their morale," he said, "to think they are fighting for Thieu."

Most Catholics in South Vietnam want "all aid banned," Duc said, because such aid becomes an extension of the Thieu regime. Civil rights must be restored, he said, and political prisoners released. The firm consensus is that Thieu's regime would collapse without U. S. aid.

"Vietnam would welcome assistance from many countries," Duc said, "and not only from the United States."

Despite repeated announcements of free elections in the South, Duc said that "no free elections are possible under Thieu."

"The Third Force movement," Duc said, "has the support of the population, and Catholics have stopped accusing it of being communist. Buddhists, he added, are important in the Third Force movement.

"The North cannot take over the South," Duc said, "because the people in no way would accept control from the North." Unification, he said, is neither "foreseeable nor, in fact, possible." The North, he added, is more fearful of China than of the South Vietnamese.

Duc repeatedly had to emphasize that if Thieu were ousted, the Third Force would not replace him as a power in itself, but that present forces of the coalition would become subsumed in the populist needs and will of the country.

Duc's views were apparently in opposition to the recent report by Vatican spokesman Federico Alessandrini (Jan. 19) which stated that the majority in the South supports the Saigon government and President Thieu on the basis that Hanoi is worse.

Duc did not seem to accept the Alessandrini equation.

When asked if he were at any time aware of interference by the CIA in actions that ended his political career in South Vietnam, Duc said that he did not know directly of any such interferences.

Duc was asked whether he knows what has become of Nhat Hanh, the Buddhist monk-poet and friend of the American Trappist monk Thomas Merton, who had feared for the Buddhist monk's life because of Hanh's opposition to both Saigon and the Vietcong repressions in South Vietnam.

"Yes," Ngo Cong Duc concluded, "I know Nhat Hanh and he is, like myself, an exile, living in France."

NGO CONG DUC ... Former newspaper publisher-editor in exile is touring the U.S. as a major political figure in South Vietnam's Third Force. The Thieu government closed five opposition newspapers this week in the severest crackdown in 10 years of the Thieu regime.

(Pilot Photo by Stack)



Vietnam action group presses peace effort

Opposition calls for Thieu ouster and political settlement with Communists

By Michael Liuzzi
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

The voices of "reconciliation and concord" are growing more insistent in South Vietnam.

In the midst of last week's subdued lunar New Year celebration in Saigon, there was evidence of a broad new alliance being forged — its leaders determined to oust President Nguyen Van Thieu, end the fighting, and reach a political settlement with the Communist-led Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG).

They are convinced that the main obstacle to peace is a belligerence on the part of Mr. Thieu and his dependence on Washington. Their first

objective is to isolate him politically and force his resignation.

Meanwhile, they are laying the groundwork for peace through a network of informal contacts with the PRG.

A key role is being played by traditional "third force" nationalists — Vietnamese who have always refused to be aligned with either the Communists or the various French and American-backed "strong men."

But the ranks of the expanding new reconciliation movement also include growing numbers of normally conservative people who have supported Saigon governments in the past in varying degrees, but now are looking for broader solutions.

A large group of them — a civic

leadership of respected senators, lawyers, clergymen, and others — gathered last week at the Saigon home of Duong Van "Big" Minh, the former Army general and chief of state who helped overthrow a previous strongman ruler (Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963).

They listened with approval as General Minh described the Thieu government's recent spate of newspaper closures and arrests as an "act of contempt" against the people and those "who struggle for peace."

He called on President Thieu to "step back" and let the Vietnamese people "establish the political structures necessary for national reconciliation and concord" as provided in the peace agreement.

Otherwise, he added, "everything will collapse."

Other calls for Mr. Thieu to resign have been more pointed. And they have begun to intensify.

The signal for this campaign came a little more than two weeks ago when leaders of the new alliance held a well-attended convention to mark the second anniversary of the peace agreement. Out of that meeting came the first joint resolution to be signed by the heads of both the National Reconciliation Forces (Buddhist sup-

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Wednesday, February 19, 1975

3D

ported) and the People's Anti-Corruption Movement (Roman Catholic led), as well as by other groups and prominent individuals.

Since then, their activities show signs of being better planned and coordinated.

An open letter to the U.S. Congress signed by 12 national assemblymen, a visit to Washington by a third-force leader-in-exile (in company with General Minh's son), a public statement by the lawyer who heads a group devoted to implementation of the Paris agreement, a second "indictment" from the Anti-Corruption Movement, and recently a double demonstration, with Buddhist nuns carrying protest banners across from the presidential palace while scores of legislators were gathering with clergymen on the front steps of the National Assembly building — all

hammered away at the same themes:

- Ending U.S. aid to the Thieu government.
- "Thieu must resign."
- Reconciliation with the PRG.

Their arguments were summed up most trenchantly in one sentence from the anti-corruption group's indictment:

"As long as Mr. Thieu remains, there can be no peace, for he is the product of the war, he is nourished by the war, and he can only survive with the war."

Exactly how strong is the new alliance? Can it succeed in replacing President Thieu?

Such questions are difficult to answer — especially by Western observers accustomed to gauging relative strengths in military terms and "forceful" leadership, and whose first

question is whom does the Army support.

But third-force spokesmen say they are not attempting a military coup. They are seeking all their goals through carefully built political strength. Their contacts in the South Vietnamese Army assure them that the Army as a whole would remain neutral in such a contest, and would support a new government stemming from the reconciliation movement.

The surest indication of the movement's strength is the new-found unity that had eluded them for nearly a year. One of the big stumbling blocks was the issue of U.S. aid. That issue now has been resolved in favor of stopping military aid — at least until a new government is formed.

First of two articles. Next: How can peace with Communists be achieved? An interview with the "third force."

U.S. Urged to Drop Thieu Support

By JOYCE GEMPERLEIN
Post-Gazette Staff Writer

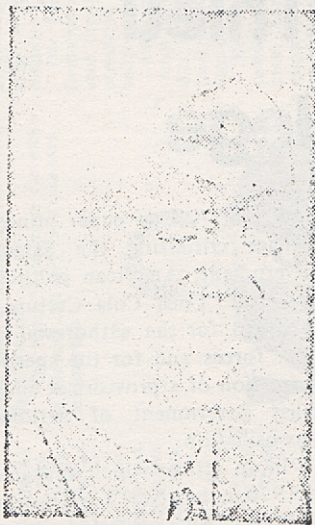
United States support of the Saigon government of President Nguyen Van Thieu should be withdrawn immediately, according to an exiled former member of the South Vietnam National Assembly.

Ngo Cong Duc, a member of the Third Force — a faction supporting neither Thieu nor the Provisional Revolutionary government — said yesterday that Thieu should be ousted because he will not abide by the Paris peace agreement and wants to continue the war.

Withdrawing U.S. dollars, arms and moral support would cause him "to run away because he survives with that assistance," Duc said.

Peace — the only thing South Vietnamese want — will never come under an administration such as Thieu's, Duc asserted.

He also was editor of Tin Sang, the country's largest opposition newspaper. It was confiscated 265 times and finally closed in 1972. Newspapers, he said, reflect the people's opposition to Thieu.



NGO CONG DUC

They have organized several demonstrations against government policies.

During the time of his editorship — from 1967 to 1971—Duc was a deputy in the national assembly. He was jailed in

1971 and went into exile in France and Sweden. His wife and son have not been permitted to leave Vietnam.

Duc spoke yesterday at the Friends Meeting House, Ellsworth Avenue, Shadyside. He and a busload of citizens from the Pittsburgh area will be in Washington Jan. 25-27 to lobby against the Ford administration's proposed plan to allot \$300 million in arms to South Vietnam.

Despite reports of mounting North Vietnamese offensives in South Vietnam, Duc said his country would never be communized.

Duc said he believes in social democracy and is convinced that South Vietnam can survive with a coalition government but not a Communist regime.

It is imperative that Thieu be ousted — with or without a shove from the United States — for the country to maintain economic and political stability, he said.

"The only way now for my country is peace," he added. "If the United States sends more money to Thieu, you would lose money and we would lose lives."

You are invited to meet Ngo Cong Duc ... share in a Vietnamese dinner

Sunday, February 23, 1975 at 6 p.m.

Ngo Cong Duc is formerly a legislator and publisher of Saigon's largest daily, Tin Sang. The paper was shut-down by Thieu in 1972 and Duc was sentenced to three years in prison. He fled South Vietnam and now resides in Paris. Duc is the cousin of the Arch-Bishop of Saigon.

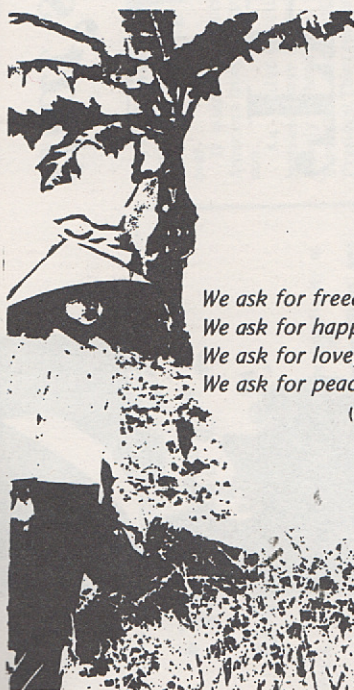
As a catholic neutralist, Ngo Cong Duc is a leading spokesperson for the third force which calls for peace in South Vietnam through removal of Thieu and implementation of the Peace Agreement.

A donation of \$1.00 is requested.

Come and bring a friend.

Church of the Redeemer (United Methodist)
2420 South Taylor Road
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

Sponsored by the Indochina Peace Campaign, 231-8234



*We ask for freedom, they give us prison;
We ask for happiness, they give us suffering;
We ask for love, they give us hatred;
We ask for peace, they give us war...*

(from a poem by four Saigon students)

THE COE COSMOS

Enemy of Thieu to visit college

Vol. LXXXIV, No. 20
Friday, February 21, 1975

COE COLLEGE
CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA

A former member of the South Vietnamese Parliament, now an outspoken critic of South Vietnamese President Thieu and of continuing American involvement in Vietnam, will be in Cedar Rapids on Wednesday to meet with students, journalists, and to deliver a public address.

Ngo Cong Duc, former editor-publisher of a Saigon newspaper and an exiled leader of the "Third Force" which is composed of people neither pro-Thieu nor pro-Communist, will give the public address at 8 p.m. Wednesday in Cherry Auditorium. A reception will be held after the lecture. Duc's speech at Coe is sponsored by the Cahplain's office.

Duc, 39, is acknowledged by many informed observers of the present South Vietnamese scene as the most credible and articulate spokesperson for the Third Force.

The Third Force is significant in Vietnam for the full implementation of the Paris Peace Accords which provide for a "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments." This Council is responsible for organizing the elections called for in the Accords.

Between 1967 and 1971, Duc was the General Secretary of the Socialist bloc in Vietnam and Chairperson of two committees in Parliament, one on anti-corruption and the other on information. He was a Congressman for four years.

During the 1971 National Assembly elections, Duc was assaulted, his poll watchers arrested, and his votes not counted.

Duc was also publisher-editor of a leading Vietnamese newspaper, "Tin Sang" and was Chairperson of the Vietnamese Association of Newspaper Editors.

Before 1970, his paper printed articles criticizing the Saigon government, American politics, and the "Coca Cola Culture." It called for the withdrawal of U.S. forces and for the speedy formation of a provisional neutralist government of national reconciliation.

In an article which appeared in 1970 in the "New York Review of Books," Duc suggested a peace plan which had many similarities to the agreement reached in Paris three years later. He also took his concern to a personal audience with Pope Paul VI in 1970 to request assistance to bring about an end to the war and to order the Catholic Church in South Vietnam to separate itself from the corrupt Thieu regime.

"Tin Sang" was temporarily suspended eight times in 1968 and 1969. Issues of the paper were confiscated 285 times in 1970-72. The office and his home were fire-bombed on different occasions. Thieu had Duc arrested for eight days in 1971, and he was finally released after pressure from the international and South Vietnamese press, a favorable ruling by the South Vietnamese Supreme Court, and a vote of the Lower House of the National Assembly.

In 1972, "Tin Sang" was closed down and Duc was sentenced to three years in prison. He fled the country clandestinely through Cambodia and Thailand and received asylum in Sweden, where he now lives. His wife and son are not allowed to leave South Vietnam currently.

Duc maintains close contact with the opposition movement in South Vietnam and continues to write frequently for Third Force publications in his country and overseas. He is currently on a two-month tour of the United States, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

Valley News Dispatch

An independent people's newspaper

Saturday, January 18, 1975—New Kensington-Tarentum-Vandergift, Pa.

Second
Section

'THIEU MUST GO'

*Exiled anticommunist says
that's the only path to peace*



Ngo Cong Duc

'We are patriots'

IN AMERICA, his name does not ring with the familiarity of Thieu's Presidents. We know, have a way of monopolizing headlines, and we know Duc was only — if "only" is the word — a member of South Vietnam's National Assembly.

Yet, until 1972 Duc was one of the most influential forces in South Vietnamese politics.

Time Magazine once referred to him with such superlatives as "the best-known and most outspoken antigovernment legislator in Vietnam... far and away the most popular candidate in Vinh Binh province... a national personality."

THAT WAS just before the 1971 campaign in which he sought a second term in the lower house of South Vietnam's legislative assembly.

In any fair election, he would be an odds-on-favorite to win.

Time wrote: "But that was no fair election. It was an election the popular candidate was destined to lose — and he knew it well in advance. Because of his firm opposition to the Thieu government, Duc was physically assaulted, his workers harassed, his pollwatchers arrested, his votes thrown away and replaced by 'votes' for the Thieu-backed candidate."

DUC NOT ONLY lost the election but ultimately was forced to flee into exile because of his antigovernment stance.

Now, at age 39, Duc lives in France and Sweden, awaiting the day he'll be able to return to his homeland, where his wife and son remain not allowed to leave.

Duc was born in Vinh Binh province in the Mekong Delta, son of a wealthy landowner who was killed by the communist Viet-Minh in 1953. From 1967-1971, Duc was a deputy in the National Assembly of South Vietnam, serving as general secretary of the Socialist Bloc as well as chairman of two parliamentary committees: anticorruption and information.

Duc's outspoken anti-Thieu platform was not confined to Saigon's legislative halls. During the same period, he was editor-in-chief of Sang (Morning News), the largest opposition newspaper.

When Tin Sang, carried stories describing arrest and torture of prominent officers in the South Vietnamese Student Association, and published editorials calling for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, the Thieu government responded decisively.

From March, 1970, to February, 1972, Tin Sang was confiscated at least 265 times. Its office was firebombed twice during 1970. Finally it was burned down in March, 1971.

DUC'S OWN house also was bombed in October, 1970, and his entire property confiscated.

He was jailed in 1971 for five days, despite his immunity from arrest as a congressman in the lower house.

The Thieu government eventually forced Tin Sang to close down and Duc went into exile in October, 1971. He has been sentenced in absentia to three years imprisonment for leaving the country illegally.

TWO YEARS AGO this month, the Paris Peace Accords were signed and we were told the war in Vietnam was over. It wasn't, of course. And though American troops are gone, it isn't over now.

An exiled South Vietnamese legislator says the reason can be told simply: there will be no end of bloodshed and battle as long as President Thieu remains in power.

Ngo Cong Duc, a prominent figure in South Vietnamese press and politics, visited Pittsburgh this week during a two-month tour of the U.S.

AT A GATHERING Wednesday in the Friends Meeting House, Shady-side, Duc explained his position in South Vietnam's "Third Force," the political bloc which supports neither President Thieu nor the "communist" Provisional Revolutionary Government.

A Roman Catholic from a wealthy family in the Mekong Delta, Duc assuredly wants no communist regime in South Vietnam. His father, in fact, was assassinated by communist-led revolutionaries in 1953.

On the other hand, Duc believes just as firmly that for the good of South Vietnam and its people, President Thieu must go.

Fighting and death go on and on in South Vietnam, summed up in the past month's North Vietnamese offensive in Phuoc Long province, because "the Thieu government doesn't want to implement the peace agreement and organize elections," Duc said.

WHY NOT?

"They know that if he implements the peace agreement with elections, he will be ousted immediately," Duc asserts that President Thieu has virtually no popular support left.



... he would run away.

"He doesn't represent any political faction in South Vietnam. Even Catholics, who were the pillars of Thieu's regime, don't support him any longer," Duc commented.

ON THE LAST surprising point, he mentions his uncle, Nguyen van Binh, Archbishop of Saigon and highest-ranking prelate in South Vietnam, as proof.

During a recent visit to Paris, Archbishop Binh told his nephew that his feeling is, "We must prepare to live with the communists. We must have peace."

With no popular support, what's keeping Thieu in power?

Duc once put it bluntly to The New York Times' Anthony Lewis: "Thieu survives on B-52s, that's all."

Well, the B-52s are gone but American financial and diplomatic support continues to prop up the Saigon government as apparently nothing else on earth could.

"IF YOUR GOVERNMENT would declare publicly, 'We don't support Thieu,' he would run away. Without U.S. support, he could not survive; he'd have to save his life by running away," Duc said.

In that light, Duc favors cutting off all U.S. aid to the Saigon government.

"If you give Thieu more millions, the situation will become worse and worse. You will lose more money and we will lose more South Vietnamese lives. We know that, because we have been experiencing that for the past two years since the peace agreement."

Even if the U.S. does continue its support for Thieu (and Congress faces an early decision on its aid level), Duc believes that one way or another, "in a few months we can kick him out."

province this month is serving successfully to put added pressure on Thieu, Duc said.

He added that no one ought to be surprised the North Vietnamese are escalating their military activity. The U.S.-backed Thieu won't respect the peace agreement, so why should the communists, he wonders.

As for the aim of the offensive, Duc commented, "Nobody in Vietnam believes the other side wants to control more territory for its own sake."

The goal is simply to pressure Thieu and perhaps hasten his downfall, Duc repeated.

"EVERYBODY is tired of war. The Provisional Revolutionary Government — they want to rest, too. They want to avoid killing. We believe they want peace, and we believe North Vietnam doesn't want to create a reason for the foreigners to come back," he said.

If Thieu were ousted, Duc is convinced a workable, cooperative coalition government would be possible. He said, too, that this is a widely held view in Vietnam.

Duc scorns the idea that South Vietnam would be lost into communist hands, whether from the PRG or from North Vietnam.

"The North Vietnamese can make an offensive, but they can't take over," he remarked.



... worse and worse.

HE STRESSES, too, that there is no shortage of potential future leaders in South Vietnam. "Even in the Saigon government now there are some people who are not corrupted. Who are competent who could replace Thieu."

Duc feels that his own Socialist Democratic political philosophy based upon justice for everybody, would prevail in any coalition government built on fair elections.

Anticommunist though he is, Duc stands back and conceals objectively that "the Provisional Revolutionary Government is right to demand their legal position in South Vietnam."

He is quick to point out, too, that it is quick to point out that "a conviction that contrary to the view of most Americans would hold, 'a majority' of the South Vietnamese revolutionaries aren't communists in the first place."

As for those who are communists he feels that as a very real political faction, they would have to be accepted in a coalition because only then would the coalition be truly democratic.

ANSWERING those who predict or fear a bloodbath if the PRG would come into power, Duc responds, "In two years, 100,000 people have been killed already. You think any bloodbath could be larger than 100,000 people?"

But he warns that Thieu's repressive and hated policies are damaging and chances for survival of any noncommunist government in the future.

"We don't want communism, but if Thieu stays in power, the Provisional Revolutionary Government will become stronger and stronger," Duc said, adding that millions more U.S. dollars won't change that a bit.

The only answer, Duc concluded, "is peace."

"We want to build a society with a system of social democracy, of justice for everybody."



'They can't take over.'



'Everybody is tired...'

Thieu fall would aid S. Viets, critic says

By Richard M. Peery

The United States will have to send troops back to Indochina or halt military aid to the "corrupt, dictatorial government in South Vietnam," a former politician there said yesterday.

Ngo Cong Duc, 39, former member of the South Vietnamese National Assembly, is carrying his message to Americans in a nationwide tour.

Duc, a Catholic and non-Communist, fled South Vietnam in 1971 after losing a bitter re-election campaign.

Time magazine said at the time that he would have been expected to win a fair election, but he and his supporters were harassed for his opposition to President Nguyen Van Thieu and the war, he said.

His visit here was sponsored by the Indochina Peace Committee.

Duc said yesterday that U.S. policy toward his country is based on fallacies. The Thieu regime is not popular, he said, and would fall if American aid would be withdrawn.

But that would not mean the country would be swallowed up by North Vietnam, nor that a blood-bath would take place in the South, he said.

However, Duc added, continuing present policies would.

"When the people can no longer bear living under this corrupt Saigon dictatorship, they will be forced to chose the other side," he predicted.

But a change in government now would not result in a Communist takeover,

he said, because the non-Communist South Vietnamese do not want it and the North Vietnamese do not have the military capability.

Current fighting is the result of South Vietnam's failure to implement the Paris agreement, which would have permitted a political settlement by South Vietnamese for South Vietnamese, he said.

The fundamental threat to the Thieu government does not come from either North Vietnam or the Provisional Revolutionary Government—known here as the Viet Cong—but from "all South Vietnamese groups and religions who oppose the regime," Duc said.

If the United States stops military aid to Thieu, Duc said, other Vietnamese groups that now support the Thieu regime, such as Catholics and the military, would take over.

Buddhists and other non-Communists would organize themselves into a third force, Duc said. This would permit the development of a representative government that would include the Viet Cong, but would not be dominated by them, he said.

Duc has been mentioned as a possible president of a postwar South Vietnam. However, he denied such ambitions.

Until he left South Viet-



The Plain Dealer

Ngo Cong Duc

nam, Duc was widely known as the publisher of the most controversial newspaper in the country.

Apparently because of his opposition to Thieu, his newspaper office and his home were bombed and acid was poured on his presses. During the 1971 campaign, he was jailed five days for political reasons, he said.

Exiled Saigon newsman seeks ouster of Thieu

By FRANK WETZEL
Associated Press Writer

PORTLAND — An exiled newspaper publisher from Saigon called Tuesday night for the end to U.S. aid to South Vietnam.

Ngo Kong Duc said that if the U.S. cuts off aid, President Nguyen Thieu's government will fall. He said a coalition representing various factions in a so-called Third Force would then assume the reins of government. He said supplies from the U.S. are used to intensify the war against the National Liberation Front.

"They prolong the suffering of the people and continue the corruption of the

Thieu regime," he said.

"South Vietnam will not collapse if aid ends," Duc said. "I think Thieu would run away if U.S. aid ended. A Third Force would be supported by the people and it would improve the morale of the Army."

He addressed a meeting of the society of professional journalists, Sigma Delta Chi. His visit was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. He now lives in Sweden.

Duc asked for support from the American press in fighting the Thieu regime.

"We are human beings," he said. "We think we should have the same rights

as you have. We see your press freedom and we want the same."

He is a Catholic and former member of the South Vietnamese Parliament. He said his newspaper had been confiscated 235 times and closed eight times in two years.

He accused the Thieu government of arresting and torturing members of the opposition. He said his own newspaper and home had been bombed.

"They wanted to send me to the Army," he said. "I knew that if I went they would put somebody behind me to shoot me."

S. Vietnamese urges halt to U.S. aid

Halting U.S. military aid to South Vietnam would permit peace in that war-torn nation without a Communist takeover, a former Saigon newspaper publisher said here Thursday.

Ngo Cong Duc, who also is a former member of the South Vietnamese parliament, is in St. Louis this week to speak at various public meetings under sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee.

A political opponent of President Nguyen Van Thieu, Duc said at a press conference at the Press Club of Metropolitan St. Louis that Thieu's "corrupt regime" would collapse without U.S. aid and a new leadership then could take power and establish a democratic, non-Communist government in South Vietnam.

Duc, who is a member of a prominent Roman Catholic family in South Vietnam, said a majority of South Vietnamese opposes the Thieu regime but also opposes communism. He discounted U.S. fears of a Communist takeover by North Vietnam if American military aid is halted.

"New leadership would arise if Thieu runs away," he said, "and would implement the peace agreement. If the U.S. continues military aid, South Vietnam will become like Cambodia, and we don't want to see that."

While many Americans believe there would be a "blood bath" if aid to the Thieu regime stops, this would not happen, Duc said, because "a majority of several million South Vietnamese is opposed to the Communist system."

"As long as you give aid,



Ngo Cong Duc

you intensify the war and the suffering," he declared. "Give us a chance to solve our own problems."

Exiled Viet Publisher Will Speak

A former member of the South Vietnamese parliament, now an outspoken critic of South Vietnamese President Thieu and of continuing American involvement in Vietnam, will be in Iowa City and Cedar Rapids Wednesday.

Ngo Cong Duc, former editor-publisher of a Saigon newspaper and leader in exile of the "Third Force" which is composed of people neither pro-Thieu nor pro-Communist, will speak at 8 p.m. Wednes-



Ngo Cong Duc

day in Cherry auditorium on the Coe college campus. It is open to the public. A reception will follow.

Duc, 39, is acknowledged by many informed observers of the present South Vietnamese scene as the most credible and articulate spokesman for the Third Force.

The Third Force is important to the Vietnamese to the full implementation of the Paris Peace Accords which provide for a "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments." This council is responsible for organizing the elections called for in the accords.

Between 1967 and 1971, Duc was general secretary of the Socialist block in Vietnam and chairman of two parliamentary committees. He was a congressman for four years.

Duc was also publisher-editor of a leading Vietnamese daily newspaper, "Tin Sang" and was chairman of the Vietnamese Assn. of Newspaper Editors. Before 1970, his paper printed articles criticizing the Saigon government, American politics, and the "Coca Cola culture."

Duc's "Tin Sang" was temporarily suspended eight times in 1968 and 1969. Issues of the paper were confiscated 285 times in 1970-72. The office and his home were fire-bombed on different occasions.

"Tin Sang" was closed down in February, 1972, and Duc was sentenced to three years in prison.

He left South Vietnam clandestinely through Cambodia and Thailand and received asylum in Sweden where he lives. His wife and son are not allowed to leave South Vietnam.

Des Moines Register
Page 6S 2-27-75

URGES AID CUT TO SAIGON

By LARRY ECKHOLT
Register Staff Writer

IOWA CITY, IA. — An exiled South Vietnamese journalist urged Americans Wednesday to demand that Congress stop all military aid to Saigon in order to topple the Thieu regime, which he said ultimately will lead to peace in his war-torn country.

"Keep the money to spend on your own country," said Ngo Cong Duc, 39, who is on a speaking tour of the U.S. to explain the so-called "Third Force" movement in South Vietnam. "When I arrived (in the U.S.) I found you have many things to worry about here."

Duc has been in exile since October, 1971. He is a former South Vietnamese legislator and was editor of a leading Saigon opposition newspaper now shut down.

Duc is a member of the Third Force which supports neither the Communist Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) nor the Thieu government. The Third Force advocates a coalition government in South Vietnam to replace what Duc calls "the corrupt dictatorship of Mr. Thieu."

U.S. military aid is the primary source of Thieu's continued rule in South Vietnam, Duc said. Continued aid — such as the \$300 million in supplemental aid recently requested by Thieu — will "intensify the war and create more difficulties to implement the Paris Peace Agreements," he added.

Until his departure from South Vietnam, Duc was considered an influential figure in the country's politics. His cousin is the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Saigon.

Ex-Peace Activists in Congress Sour On Kissinger's Plea for Flexibility

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is campaigning in Congress for more "flexibility" in his conduct of foreign policy.

He and the President, sighing heavily, point to the fatal intervention of Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., in the now-defunct Soviet trade agreement as the kind of thing that Congress must not do if glorious summit deals are to be consummated by the executive branch.

They are plainly hoping that their reproaches to Jackson for trying to meddle in the internal affairs of another nation will help them as they launch yet another attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, the country they cannot leave alone.

Kissinger is briefing members of Congress in his elegant quarters at State in batches of a dozen. He touches on the advisability of voting \$300 million more in emergency aid to the faltering Thieu regime to further what he calls impersonally "this govern-

ment's policy to leave a stable government in Vietnam after withdrawal."

For the 10 years of active American participation, the House was always elaborately diffident in affairs of state. But last

By

MARY

McGRORY



November, 75 new Democrats were elected, many of whom grew up marching against the Vietnam policy. Scratch a new House member and you're likely to find an old peace activist.

Here is a sampling of the different audience Kissinger is facing:

Tom Harkin, 34, of Iowa. As a congressional aide on a Saigon mission, he took pictures of the Tiger Cage prison where enemies of the regime were confined.

"No way," he says of

further aid and comfort for Thieu.

Toby Moffett, 30, of Connecticut. He quit HEW as a youth adviser in a blaze of publicity, protesting the Cambodian invasion.

Ned Pattison, 42, of New York. He began speaking out against the war in 1966.

Stephen Solarz, 34, of New York, a freshman member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He cut his teeth in politics by managing an antiwar candidate.

"I've heard it all before," he says of argument that we must provide more arms to Thieu because Russia and China continue their aid to the other side.

Men of such mind are far more receptive to a visiting South Vietnamese opposition leader, a former member of the National Assembly, who is campaigning as hard against the money as Kissinger is for it.

Ngo Cong Duc, a wearily youthful 38, was born in the Mekong Delta of an old, conservative Catholic family, the son of a prosperous planter who was killed by the Viet Minh during the war with the French. He is a cousin of the Archbishop of Saigon.

Duc was educated in Saigon in Catholic schools, became editor and owner of the Saigon Morning News, and in 1967 won election to the National Assembly as a peace candidate.

His paper was firebombed twice, for its anti-American and later anti-Thieu policies, suspended innumerable times and confiscated; his home was firebombed once. Three years ago, he went into exile. He came to Washington at the invitation of the American Friends Service Committee to persuade Americans to stop subsidizing the war. The committee is one of the groups sponsoring the "Assembly to save the Peace Agreement" being held this weekend.

Duc represents what he calls "the third force" in

Saigon, a non-Communist, anti-corruption movement made up of Catholics, Buddhists and refugees who are opposed to Thieu and American meddling.

If the Americans stop sending money, Duc maintains, "Thieu will run away with his pockets full," the North Vietnamese will withdraw their troops from the South, and the Viet Cong and the third force will form a government.

"I am not afraid of the Communists," he says. "They cannot kill us all. If they try to, there will be a new war."

"The Paris agreements created a new political force, but Thieu will not accept them. He will not free the prisoners. He is more dictatorial than the Communists. He does not serve the people. I hear about bloodbath. Fifty thousand people a year have been killed since the peace. Is this not a bloodbath?"

Vietnamese Catholics turned publicly on fellow-Catholic Thieu last autumn, but a bloody demonstration in October ended the confrontation period. Since then, says Duc, the Catholics have organized quietly in each diocese with local priests as leaders.

"I don't accept communism," he says, "but I know they are patriotic and patriots always work for the future of our country."

Duc, in his way, is arguing for flexibility as Kissinger in his. "All we ask," he says, "is to have a chance to make our own choices."



DOORS
DRAFTY?

WEATHERSTRIP

CALL

739-9673

WEST SIDE SHADE
& BLIND CO., INC.

315 MAIN ST.
WEST SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

'It only supports corrupt regime'

The Daily Iowan

Duc tells U.S.: keep your money

By RANDY KNOPER
Staff Writer

"Keep your money. Use it here. Since I've been here, I've found that you have many things to worry about. Let us worry about it (South Vietnam), and make our own future."

That was the request of Ngo Cong Duc, a former Deputy in the National Assembly of South Vietnam, in a speech before students and press members at a luncheon Wednesday in Center East.

It was a timely address, coming after urgent requests Tuesday by President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for increased aid to Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Duc said U.S. aid to Cambodia would be "too late," and discounted the possibilities of a "bloodbath" or "Communist takeover" in South Vietnam if U.S. aid ceased.

He said U.S. money to South Vietnam only supports "the corrupt and dictatorial regime" of Pres. Nguyen Van Thieu.

"Your government told both you and us that they came to Vietnam to defend freedom and democracy," he said. "Look at the regime in South Vietnam. It is not freedom and democracy."

Duc asked the people of the U.S. to help the people of Vietnam by demanding Congress not send any more money to his country.

"We know the American people would not let their Congress give money to kill people," he said, but added, "When you increase aid you create more problems for us to implement the (Paris) Peace Agreement."

Duc spoke as a representative of the "Third Force," which he described as a political segment favoring implementation of the Paris Peace Agreement by forming a coalition government in South Vietnam.

He said members of the Third Force are "people who want to fight, who want to struggle for independence and democracy . . . but who do not want to use weapons in their struggle."

The Third Force, he said, wants the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the "Saigon regime" to join them in forming a coalition government, and in calling for a cease-fire and an ending to U.S. aid.

Duc said that neither the NLF or the Thieu government "want to be victorious."

"The majority of the South Vietnamese people do not want communism," he said. "They join the NLF to fight for independence."

And the soldiers in Saigon's ARVN only joined because they had no money, or because they feared imprisonment, he said.

He called NLF members "our compatriots," and said, "We have friends in the Saigon regime who are for the Third Force."

He claimed that Saigon would not be successful because "the South Vietnamese people do not want to kill their compatriots."

If the Thieu government fell, there would not be a "bloodbath," according to Duc. "We do not think the PRG (Provisional Revolutionary Government) and the NLF want to kill all of us in Vietnam," he said.

"But everyday we have a bloodbath," he said, because of U.S. support to Saigon.

An end to U.S. aid would not destroy the South Vietnamese economy, Duc said. Instead, it would force Thieu to leave the country, and

it would allow the people "to return to the countryside," where "we have plenty of rice, vegetables, chicken and fish," he said.

According to a leaflet from the American Friends Service Committee — the group which sponsored Duc's appearance — Duc was "one of the most influential figures in South Vietnamese politics" until 1972.

In addition to being a deputy in the National Assembly from 1967-1971, Duc served as general secretary of the Socialist Bloc, chaired the parliamentary committees of Anti-corruption and Information and was editor-in-chief of Tin Sang, the largest opposition newspaper in South Vietnam.

From March 1970 to Feb. 1972, the Saigon government confiscated Tin

Sang 295 times for printing articles that called for a withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam, and articles describing the arrest and torture of officers of the South Vietnamese Student Association.

The newspaper's office was bombed twice, and was burnt down in March, 1971.

Duc's house was also bombed in October 1970, and his property was confiscated. He left the country illegally in October 1971, and faces three years' imprisonment upon his return.

He has been living for the past three years in Sweden. His wife and son have not been allowed to leave South Vietnam, Duc said, but are protected by his "many friends in the Saigon regime."

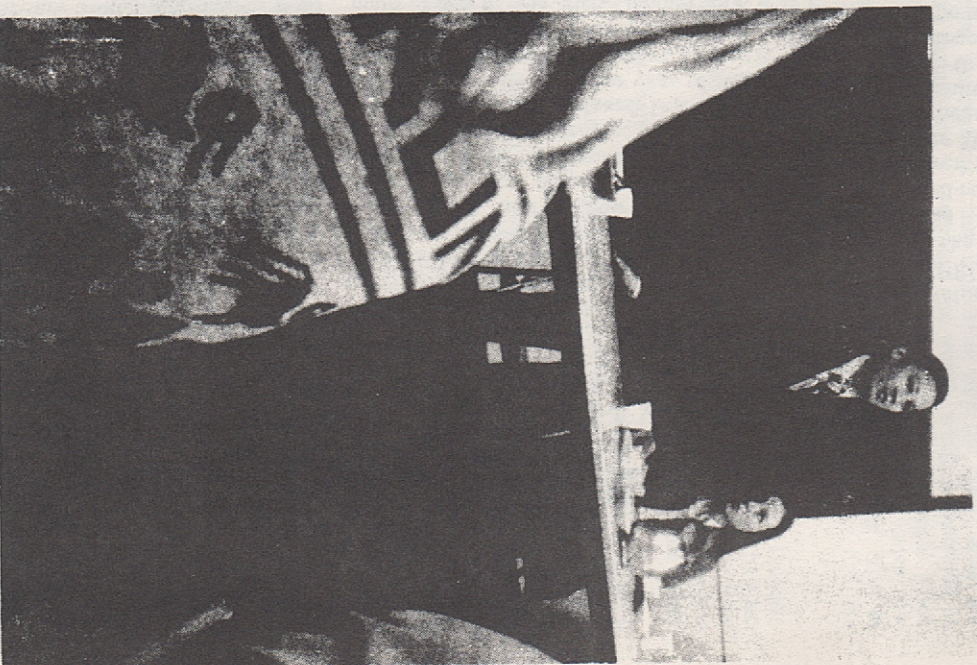


Photo by Lawrence Frank

Ngo Cong Duc

Exiled South Vietnamese news editor and legislator Ngo Cong Duc spoke on American aid to South Vietnam Wednesday in Center East. Duc's press conference was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

Catholic editor wants Thieu regime ended

"We are being had by the U.S. Government for strictly consumption purposes, with nothing to show for it except Coca Cola and Salem cigarettes."

This is the view of Ngo Cong Duc, 39, a Catholic and non-Communist, editor of what was once Saigon's largest daily newspaper, and an exile from South Vietnam since 1971 after losing a re-election campaign which gained him the wrath of President Nguyen Van Thieu.



Duc, long-harrassed by Thieu for his anti-Thieu, anti-war, anti-corruption activities through public demonstrations and through his newspaper, is a former member of the South Vietnamese National Assembly. He is touring America to plead for help in deposing Thieu from power.

His newspaper was suspended temporarily eight times, confiscated 285 times, his office was bombed and burned twice by the Saigon Regime people, and the paper, Tin Sang (Morning News) closed finally in February of 1972.

Duc was sentenced to three years in prison, and all his properties were confiscated. He said he has also witnessed anti-Thieu, anti-corruption Catholics in Saigon beaten and jailed, a youth killed, and many priests beaten while demonstrating against Thieu.

"We Catholics cannot continue to support Thieu. We have been looked upon as his accomplices because at one time most Catholics supported him," Duc said in an interview Monday.

"But now the majority of what you could call the new wave of Catholics have changed to take on an anti-corruption standpoint, and have formed anti-corruption committees, with the support of many prominent South Vietnamese officials."

Duc said he believes the only way Thieu can fall is to cut off all U.S. aid to Vietnam. At this point, he maintains, every U.S. dollar, be it for food or military aid, goes into Thieu's coffers to augment the military.

"The U.S. must stop all aid," Duc said. "We know the American people will not continue to support the war. You, as a people, have many things to worry about, and I know you won't allow your tax dollars, when they should be spent on domestic things, to be spent to kill our people."

The Catholics in Vietnam, Duc says, although only 10 to 12 per cent of the population, comprise the most powerful group because they are composed of many French, the rich, landowners, and bourgeoisie. There are six Catholic congressmen in the Vietnamese National House, and the president of the Senate is a Catholic.

Duc staunchly believes that a withdrawal of all aid would not mean that South Vietnam would be drenched in a bloodbath. He thinks that if most of the people had a choice between a dictatorial Communist regime or dictator Thieu, most would choose the Communists because, in North Vietnam, the government officials at least

let the people know that they are trying to serve in their best interests.

In the South, corruption is rampant. Yet Duc says that a change in government now would not result in a Communist takeover because "even though the Provisional Revolutionary Government—or Viet Cong—are supposed to be clever, why can't they take over the South by being clever in the political arena, rather than by wasting the blood of their people? They can't."

Fighting for freedom has been in Duc's family for more than the last 25 years. His father grew up fighting the Viet Minh and was killed by them in 1955.

Duc maintains the position that to implement the Paris Peace Agreement, and insure a political settlement of the fighting, "both those Catholics still supporting Thieu and those against him—and both the Communists and South Vietnamese—must try to understand each other, strive for reconciliation, and a coalition government."

The three parts of a coalition government would consist of: 1) Representatives of the Saigon Regime, many of whom are Catholics; 2) The third forces, of which Buddhists and some Catholics comprise the majority;

3) The Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). New leadership will come from the Saigon Regime, Duc says, not the third forces. The Catholics, well-respected in South Vietnam, will remain the watchdogs of the government through their various efforts spearheaded by the anti-corruption committees.

"I propose to have the Saigon Regime be a strong political force, and I plan to become more vocally involved in my efforts," Duc stated.

He added that the Catholics must stay in a third position, be reconciliators, and run the next election. "We have an advantage over the PRG because we haven't caused any killings, and our officials are much more well-known than any of the PRG people. I feel we can easily win an election."

After recently meeting with Bishop James Rausch, general secretary, National Catholic Conference of Bishops, in Washington, Duc says he "felt more encouraged that the Catholic Church in America wants to help the South Vietnamese people live in peace, and not continue the war..." But he expressed disappointment in Pope Paul VI.

Duc spoke with the pope in 1970, and explained to him the Catholics' position in Vietnam, and asked the pope for assistance in bringing the fighting to a conclusion. "He said he'd pray for the Vietnamese people. I then told him that praying was not enough, and I believe he became very upset with my answer."

In the 70's Duc says he feels the Church is finally going more in the right direction toward helping his people, although still a little too slow for his liking.

Religion, besides fighting for freedom, is in Duc's background. His cousin, Nguyen Van Binh, is Archbishop of Saigon. "He tells me," said Duc, "that he is strictly a Religious, and that he wants no part of politics."

Thieu is using U.S. dollars to perpetuate his regime

Ngo Cong Duc, 39, is a leader of South Vietnam's political "Third Force"—supporters of neither Nguyen Van Thieu's government or the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the communists. Duc, a newspaper publisher and former member of his country's parliament, was driven into political exile by the Thieu regime. He will speak today at 1:30 in the HUB Ballroom and the Daily—in view of his estrangement from Vietnam and its press—publishes some of his thoughts here.

If in 1973 the Saigon side had leaders willing to carry out the Paris Agreement, they would not have found themselves placed in such a disadvantageous position today.

But Saigon and Washington both misjudged the situation.

President Thieu was allowed to launch offensive operations, bomb the other side, deny democratic liberties, prevent the release of political prisoners, and block the establishment of a tripartite council to hold free elections for a new government in the South—all in violation of the Agreement.

Because the Saigon regime clung to war at a time when most Vietnamese longed for peace, it became increasingly isolated from the population.

Diehard anti-Communist Catholics, the last to abandon Thieu's sinking ship, have recently declared that they are for peace. For them, peace means coexistence and implementation of the Paris Agreement.

All President Thieu has left are a handful of corrupt accomplices and American taxpayer's dollars. His military and police forces exist only because these structures provide a means of livelihood for the hundreds of thousands who are unemployed. Besides, there are severe penalties for draft resisters.

Morale has dropped considerably within the army and the police ever since the northern Catholic refugees, once the mainstay of the regime, withdrew their support from Thieu.

As a result, Thieu must now cope with military pressures from without, and political opposition from within.

From without, the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) has taken over a number of towns, largely because the Saigon military has lost the will to fight.

From within, Thieu's base of support has disintegrated. In fact, from the very moment the Catholic anticorruption movement issued Indictment No. 1, charging Thieu with six specific crimes of corruption, his political life was finished. Buddhists, Catholics, northern refugees, the bar and press associations have all demanded Thieu's resignation.

All further American efforts to save Thieu are by now futile. Continued aid to Thieu will only cause more difficulties for the non-Communist side.

If the United States is really interested in preventing a Communist takeover of South Vietnam, it should cease aiding Thieu. That would speed up his departure, at which point a new leadership will emerge to take his place.

The Saigon side still has a chance to achieve political stability.

By demonstrating its willingness to accept peace, the new administration would not be as isolated as the Thieu regime would be in a National Council of Reconciliation and Concord (the body that would be set up by the 1973 Peace agreement to organize free elections).

The Council could promote negotiations between North and South Vietnam, and

probably obtain a nonaggression pact and the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops in exchange for recognizing the necessary and legitimate presence of the PRG within the South Vietnamese community.

Are we naive to believe that reconciliation is possible with the PRG? Even assuming the worse, which is betrayal of our trust, the number of people killed would never be as great as those now killed in the continuing fighting. Most of the corrupt people would have fled the country along with Thieu!

For my part, I do not accept Communist methods. But I realize that the Vietnamese Communists also love their country. It is our common patriotism which will allow the South to have reconciliation and concord.

I expect that North Vietnam, because it has peace and concentrates on economic development, will become wealthy and strong within the next five years. I want the South to also have peace so we can turn our attention to reconstruction. Prolongation of the war will only weaken our economy even further, help give the PRG an upper hand, and place the South in a position of dependence on the North.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON DAILY

THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1975

Vietnam

MR. STEVENSON, Mr. President, one of the reasons that the administration has had difficulty assembling a group of Congressmen to visit South Vietnam is that many, if not most, have been there at least once already. More visits are not likely to change our views.

I visited South Vietnam in the summer of 1971 to observe the Thieu regime's conduct of the elections for the South Vietnamese legislature. General Thieu, with his power supplied by the United States, aborted the ostensible U.S. purpose for its involvement—self-determination for the people of South Vietnam in the elections that summer. The war for self-determination was culminated that fall in General Thieu's one-man election to the presidency.

It became plain to most Members of the Congress long ago that the administration was embarked upon a futile at-



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 94th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 121

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1975

No. 31

Senate

We can compare the military forces on both sides; we can also compare the number of supporters on both sides, the areas of control and influence. Although Thieu does not have the support of the people, the PRG has only seized in concentrated attacks a few provincial cities and districts. Although Saigon's forces have the potential to resist the PRG on the battlefield, their potential has been much weakened because of the corruption. This is also the judgment of the U.S. mission.

This war has already brought much sufferings to the people of South Vietnam, brought the country's economic collapse, and created much weariness within the military. Everyone wants peace.

North Vietnam and the PRG cannot continue the war for the following reasons:

Otherwise the people of South Vietnam will condemn them;

Hanoi needs to rebuild and to reconstruct the economy of North Vietnam;

The people of North Vietnam also want peace; and

The PRG is also quite weary of the war, and its current objective is to gain the right to participate in the political life of South Vietnam in the framework of the Paris Agreement.

The people of South Vietnam are not yet willing to accept the take-over of the South by military force. It is thus not possible for North Vietnam to succeed in such enterprise. This would be particularly true if South Vietnam has a non-corrupt leadership that advocates peace, national reconciliation, and that strives to build a healthy national economy. If North Vietnam goes back to war without the people's support, the war will result in a hopeless stalemate. Under such a circumstance, North Vietnam would fear greatly foreign intervention.

2. THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT: TO REALIZE PEACE

Only a new US policy that realizes peace can end this war and also salvage the Saigon regime from total collapse. A political solution will not push South Vietnam into the hands of North Vietnam and will not generate the damaging consequences of, for instance, U.S. military strategies. And the process to realize peace demands that Thieu must go and that the Paris Agreement be implemented.

2a. ADVANTAGES OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

A. Help Vietnam restore peace and consolidate that peace.

B. End America's waste of resources in Indochina.

C. Help those who belong to the Saigon regime and to the Third Force to consolidate their forces in order to attract the support of the majority of the population.

D. Help realize the conditions for economic reconstruction in Vietnam, and the beginning of developing trade between Vietnam and the U.S. and other countries.

2b. WHY SUCH A SOLUTION NEEDS THIEU'S OUSTER

A. Mr. Thieu will continue to ruin and destroy every effort toward peace and a political settlement as long as he remains in power. His actions since 1967 have indicated that.

B. Thieu's actions weaken the anti-communist side and the Third Force as well. These 2 forces must be healthy in a political competition if South Vietnam is to remain non-Communist.

C. No force or side trusts Thieu, and no one can seriously talk to Thieu about a political solution.

3. THIEU'S POLICY: FORCE THE U.S. TO STAY WITH HIM AND SUPPORT HIM

Thieu has 3 action slogans which he uses to fascinate past and present Administrations:

"Aside from Thieu, there is no else to do the job."

"If Thieu falls, South Vietnam will be lost."
"North Vietnam aims at conquering South Vietnam."

The media here has been intoxicated to a certain extent by these 3 action slogans. Because of Mr. Thieu's policies and actions, those Vietnamese who might consider themselves as possible successors to Thieu or who have potential have been eliminated or discredited one way or the other. As long as the U.S. does not change its policy, these persons will never surface.

4. THE TRANSITION PERIOD

If the U.S. Congress cuts the aid to the Thieu regime, the following situation would develop.

a. The Vietnamese who are with the Saigon regime such as the Catholics and many in the military will have a new leadership that will replace Thieu.

b. The Buddhists and other Third Force elements will organize themselves and strengthen their Third Force.

c. Thieu and his corrupt group will leave the country.

4a. THE CHANGE AT THE TOP

According to the views of Father Tran Huu Thanh which would include those of others in the Catholic movement, there will be a collective leadership within the following framework:

1. A leadership Council;
2. A head of state; and
3. A premier.

These views could be applied to the transition period. A leadership that appears to have broad support would be able to attract more cooperation from various elements. According to Father Thanh, this new leadership will strive to:

Sustain the morale of the administration and the military.

Win the support of the people whenever possible.

Develop the economic potential of South Vietnam to attract cooperation inside and outside of Vietnam.

The Saigon regime can have as members of this new leadership Council: Former Economics Minister Au Truong Thanh; Lawyer Nguyen Van Huyen, former Senate President of Saigon's National Assembly; Gen. Cao Van Vien, presently the Chief of General Staff; Gen. Ngo Quang Truong, the Commander of I Corps; Nguyen Ngoc Huy, leader of the Progressive Party; Nguyen Huu Hanh, former director of the National Bank of Vietnam; etc. . . .

5. PROCESS TO REALIZE PEACE

The new leadership in Saigon will call for a cease-fire and the demarcation of zones of control. The Third Force and the Buddhists will support such a call.

The 2 administrations will return to the negotiating table;

Saigon will release all political prisoners, and restores democratic freedoms;

The Third Force elements will unite themselves now that democratic freedoms exist, and prepare themselves for participation in the National Council of Reconciliation;

Formation of the National Council;

Holding of general elections for a Constituent Assembly;

Proclamation of one single Constitution for South Vietnam;

The withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the South;

The formation of one single army for South Vietnam;

The signing of an Agreement between the South and the North to guarantee the Peace (economic relations, establishment of the framework for the national reunification of the country by peaceful and democratic means); and

General elections according to the Constitution.

The responsibility of the United States

vis-a-vis the people of South Vietnam, after more than a decade of intervention, is now not to intervene in our internal affairs so we can decide our own future. This, the U.S. has already pledged by signing the Paris Agreement. After the failure of U.S. military policies, it is time that the United States let us choose our policy of peace and national reconciliation.

tempt to support an unpopular, repressive regime in derogation of our own stated purpose and best principles.

The administration suggests that South Vietnam must be saved from the Communists. South Vietnam is non-Communist, and in as much need of salvation from General Thieu as from Hanoi or the PRG. Continued U.S. involvement is about all that keeps the conflict going, and were it not for that provocative involvement, the South Vietnamese would have little to fight about. The people of South Vietnam are resisting the United States and its ally, the regime of General Thieu. Take away the U.S. presence, and even at this perilously late date, a reconciliation of conflicting political interests in South Vietnam could lead to a viable, non-Communist state. The administration's continued support for the Thieu regime is the surest way of guaranteeing a Communist takeover.

On my visit to South Vietnam in 1971 a young man burned himself to death outside my hotel wrapped in a poster which protested U.S. involvement in his electoral process. Many of the individuals with whom I talked, most of them non-Communist, were subsequently arrested. Madame Ngo Ba Thanh was arrested within minutes after my meeting with her, beginning what became one of the more celebrated cases of political repression in South Vietnam. In the course of these meetings, I encountered Ngo Cong Duc then a journalist and independent political figure in South Vietnam. Mr. Duc was the publisher of Tin Sang, Saigon's largest newspaper, and head of the South Vietnamese Association of Newspaper Publishers. During the 1971 elections, Time magazine said:

Ngo Cong Duc is far and away the most popular candidate in Vinh Binh... he is now a national personality and in any fair election would be an odds-on favorite to win... as the campaign ended last week, western diplomats were still hoping for Duc's victory.

Unfortunately, after representing Vinh Binh for 4 years, Mr. Duc lost in what many observers felt was a fixed election.

I met Mr. Duc in his office during a minor riot occasioned in some way by his opposition to General Thieu. Like others of the political opposition, he was forced to flee South Vietnam, and I did not see him again until only a few days ago in my somewhat calmer office here in Washington. He gave me a statement on the political situation in South Vietnam which makes, far better than can I, many of these points about the counterproductive nature of U.S. support for General Thieu.

It should be stressed by those of us who seek to reduce funding for the Thieu regime that our purpose is not to abandon, but indeed to aid, the people of South Vietnam. Our purpose is not to write off our investment of blood and dollars but to redeem it at long last by permitting the people of South Vietnam to determine their own future under a non-Communist government. If Thieu were to leave office and be succeeded by a government capable of governing with some popular support, it could be in a position to negotiate a settlement. With

Thieu out of power, the Congress might reconsider its position on U.S. aid to South Vietnam. It opposes increased aid for the Thieu regime, not necessarily aid for South Vietnam.

Mr. President, what Mr. Duc says is echoed by South Vietnamese of many persuasions and backgrounds. I ask unanimous consent that his statement be printed in the Record so that it may be read by my colleagues and more hopefully by members of the executive branch.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PROSPECTS FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
IN SOUTH VIETNAM
(By Ngo Cong Duc)

As a Vietnamese, I will not oppose U.S. aid to my country if it will help our people to realize peace and democratic freedoms. If I believe that an aid cut-off to and the deprivation of the \$300 million from the Thieu regime will lead to the entire collapse of that regime and then to the establishment of a Communist regime in South Vietnam, I will not ask for any aid cut-off.

I have read Senator Sam Nunn's report to military aid to South Vietnam. His report can be summarized in the following way:

1. North Vietnam and the PRG have increased their infiltration of men and equipment into the South, and also their military activities. Both have thus violated the Paris Agreement.

2. "The Paris Accord ended direct U.S. military involvement in South Vietnam, but the question remains: what are U.S. responsibilities and interests after 10 years of massive investment in South Vietnam?"

On the basis of these 2 reasonings, Senator Sam Nunn proposes that Congress give more aid to South Vietnam. The Senator's position can be interpreted as that of those who now argue for increased aid to the Thieu regime.

From my viewpoint, North Vietnam and the PRG did increase their military activities because the Nguyen Van Thieu regime and the Administration have refused to implement the Paris Agreement so a political settlement can be reached among and by the South Vietnamese for South Vietnamese. On the other hand, the fundamental threat at this moment to the Thieu regime's survival does not lie with the 300,000 PRG/North Vietnamese soldiers or with the supposed shortage of ammunition of ARVN forces, but with the opposition to the regime of about all South Vietnamese groups and religions. The threat also lies with the Saigon soldiers who no longer have the morale to continue the war. Senator Nunn's report does not quite emphasize these fundamental weaknesses of the regime.

At the present time, the Thieu regime is at once subjected to pressure from 3 sides:

1. The military activities of the PRG and North Vietnamese troops.

2. The opposition of about everyone in South Vietnam: Catholics, Buddhists, Hao Hao Cao Dai, journalists, intellectual circles, etc....

3. Saigon's forces do not want to fight, especially the regional forces.

1. BEHIND THE MILITARY ESCALATION

As I said earlier, I believe that the PRG and North Vietnam have increased their military operations before the refusal of the Thieu regime to implement the Paris Agreement. The PRG is also fighting to gain the right to participate in the political life of South Vietnam in a framework determined by the people of South Vietnam and the Paris Agreement. This PRG right has been recognized in the Agreement. However, the

Thieu regime has not implemented the release of political prisoners, and has not recognized the Third political force that is critical to the formation of the National Council of Reconciliation. That Council is the turning point on the road toward national reconciliation, the ending of the war, and truce and peace.

Current increased military activities tend to favor the PRG. More than ever before, the military and political potential of the PRG are growing because all South Vietnamese are opposed to Thieu. Thus there is on the PRG side.

1A. MISTAKEN U.S. POLICIES CONTINUED

What had happened in Vietnam was the waste of hundreds of billions of dollars in support of disastrous policies of past U.S. Administrations. These disasters are continued today. The Vietnam policy-makers remain the same, with the same outlook. They still feel that they can rely on the might of the dollar to solve the problem.

To oppose communism and fight a people's war by using a corrupt and unpopular group that has led the South Vietnamese to a state of extreme poverty and starvation, will only result in failure. If South Vietnam has not yet fallen to the PRG, it is because the people there have not yet accepted communism. But when the people can no longer bear living under this corrupt Saigon dictatorship, they will be forced to choose the other side.

1B. FAILURE OF MILITARY SOLUTIONS

To seek a military solution, more continued intervention that has brought destruction upon our country to the Vietnamization of the war, has cost greatly in the people and economy of this country. Not only in terms of lives and money, but also in terms of world opinion and other countries' attitudes toward the U.S.

Now, the U.S. military policy has to end because the American people and the Congress will not let this Administration spend away untold billions more of dollars—billions that really belong to American citizens—for the indefinite future and without any hope of success. Consequently, these disastrous policies will end, sooner or later.

In the course of such policies, the US-backed generals in Saigon have brought more and more disasters upon the South Vietnamese. Now, the people have become extremely weary, and expressed a deep hatred for that corrupt leadership that seeks more war. This will further weaken the Saigon side.

To continue the war will only weaken the Saigon side also vis-a-vis the PRG. At a time when South Vietnam is engaged in warfare, North Vietnam begins a healthy program of national reconstruction. If things continue as they are, South Vietnam could not escape ending under the influence of North Vietnam in about 3 years' time.

1C. MORE AID, MORE FROM YOU WAR

To increase aid to Thieu now will force Hanoi and the PRG to escalate their military activities. Escalation begets escalation, and the US will be forced to substantially increase its aid. At that time, obstacles to peace will increase and make more difficult the process of restoring peace.

At some point in time, the U.S. must consider again re-intervention in Vietnam.

To increase aid will also induce Thieu to deal even harsher with his opponents and to weaken the anti-communist and Third Force groups.

Without aid increases, I believe that the Thieu regime would not collapse because of a military offensive.

Contrary to Vice-President Rockefeller's claim that one million Vietnamese would be liquidated if the PRG takes over, Hanoi and the PRG do not have the capability to do so. Nor do they have the capability to take over the South by military force.

ST. LOUIS REVIEW - 3/7/73

Most Catholics Said to Support Saigon Government But Oppose Thieu Regime

The majority of Catholics in South Vietnam support the Saigon government but would like to see its leader, President Nguyen Van Thieu, ousted, according to an exiled former member of the South Vietnam National Assembly.

Ngo Cong Duc, one of only a few Catholic members of the Third Force—a faction supporting neither Thieu nor the Provisional Revolutionary Government—and a relative of Saigon Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh, said Catholics (12 percent of the country's 19 million people) can no longer tolerate "Thieu's corrupt government."

Duc said that while many Catholics, including Archbishop Binh, do not share the goals of the Third Force, his work with that political organization has the support of the Archbishop.

Last year Archbishop Binh supported an anti-corruption movement against Thieu led by Father Tran Huu Thanh. "Today in every diocese there are anti-corruption committees formed by the priests and a committee in each parish. They work with Father Thanh and are very

effective and active in the effort to overthrow Mr. Thieu," Duc said.

The Catholic Church, Duc said, was the last religious sect in South Vietnam to withdraw support of President Thieu. The change in official policy by the Catholic Church in Saigon came last summer when Catholic priests released a statement critical of Thieu.

"The anti-corruption movement published the first of two indictments against Thieu accusing him and his family of six crimes of corruption. That was the end of the good relations between the Saigon government and the Catholic Church. That indictment has the goal of overthrowing Thieu."

"The second indictment accused Thieu of high treason. Thieu's reaction to the charges was that the Catholic Church is now working for the Communists, which is what they accused me of doing," Duc added.

Duc said Catholics organize at churches every Sunday after Mass. He said Thieu is virtually powerless to stop such activity

because the police do not cooperate with him.

"Priests and religious have not been jailed, but Father Thanh, other priests and congressmen have been beaten and hospitalized for many months," Duc related.

He said that last September President Thieu went on television and asked the people to indicate whether or not they wanted him to continue as leader. The result was a demonstration by some 10,000 Catholics around Saigon churches calling for removal of Thieu.

"At another rally of 5,000 a priest asked for a show of hands by supporters of Thieu. Not one person raised his hand."

"Such rallies have disappeared now," Duc continued, "because some of the conservative priests said they only led to violence. They were right, and I believe what the church is doing today is more effective."

"You cannot reconcile Thieu and the Catholic Church in Saigon; it's too late. Catholics were accused of being accomplices of Thieu and they are

working to change the association some have of the church with suffering in Saigon," he said.

Two days before his stop in St. Louis last week Duc said he visited with Cincinnati's Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB).

"I felt great anguish because when I looked at the previous policy of the Catholic Church in Saigon, I thought that was a reflection that the U.S. Catholic Church supported the war policy of the U.S."

"When I talked with Archbishop Bernardin I was relieved to find that the Catholic Church in the U.S. understands the situation in South Vietnam, and wants to see our people live in peace, wants the U.S. government to stop the war policy that supports a corrupt regime in South Vietnam," Duc said.

Archbishop Bernardin expressed interest in the Third Force as a possible political solution in South Vietnam, Duc said.

Vietnamese Critic Opposes Aid For Thieu

By CHARLENE PROST
of the Post-Dispatch Staff

A leading journalist and leader of a Third Force political group in South Vietnam says that more military aid to his country from the United States would only intensify the war and delay the departure of President Nguyen Van Thieu.

"We don't want more military aid, and we don't need it," Ngo Cong Duc said in St. Louis last week.

"With more aid, the fighting will continue. The war will be intensified, and when the war is intensified, then we'll need more aid," he said.

"But without more aid, we can have a cease fire sooner, and Thieu will leave sooner."

Duc, who is on a speaking tour across the United States, has been at odds with Thieu for many years. In 1972, he was sentenced to three years in prison in absentia by the Saigon government, and all his properties were ordered



Ngo Cong Duc

confiscated.

Duc is a former National Assembly deputy, and owner of Tin Sang, once Vietnam's largest newspaper. The newspaper, which is no longer being published after a series

of suspensions and confiscations by the Saigon government, has printed articles criticizing Thieu and American policies. Duc said that United States policies were war-like, and "dominating my country."

Duc predicted that because of political pressures and sentiment against Thieu, the President would be forced to leave the country within a year, even if more military aid was forthcoming from the United States.

However, if Congress turns down a request for an additional half billion dollars in military aid for both Cambodia and South Vietnam, made by the Ford Administration, then Thieu will be forced out "very soon," Duc said.

Duc said that, once Thieu was out, then the Third Force could make more progress toward some of its goals.

The organization, which Duc says has been gaining

strength for a number of years, would like to bring about reconciliation of the various political elements in South Vietnam.

Then, Duc said, the unified political force in his country could demand another ceasefire; implementation of the January 1973 peace agree-

ments made in Paris; ask that North Vietnam recall its troops, and hold an election for new leaders for South Vietnam.

Eventually, Duc said, the new South Vietnam leaders could negotiate their own peace and unification policies with North Vietnam.

*State Journal Register
Springfield Ill. 16.3.75-*

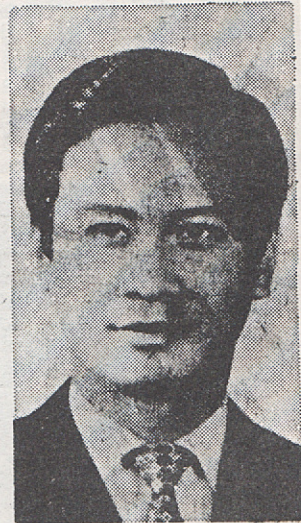
Vietnam critic plans 2 talks

Ngo Cong Duc, a former Saigon newspaper publisher and an outspoken critic of the Thieu government and the U.S. presence in Vietnam, will be in Springfield Tuesday for two appearances.

Duc, who is Catholic, anti-Communist and anti-war, will meet informally with interested persons in the Cooke Lounge of First Presbyterian Church at 7th and Capitol between 2 and 4 p.m. Tuesday. He will speak in Room 140-A of Sangamon State University's Capital Campus at 8 p.m. Tuesday. The meetings are open to the public.

Duc's newspaper, Tin Sang, (Morning News) the second largest paper in South Vietnam, was closed by the South Vietnamese government in February, 1972 for criticizing the regime. Publication of the paper had been suspended by the government eight times in 1968 and 1969, and issues of the paper were confiscated hundreds of times in 1970 to 1972. The newspaper offices and Duc's home were fire bombed.

Under the rules set by President Nguyen Van Thieu, newspaper publishers could be fined heavily and jailed for "undermining na-



Ngo Cong Duc

tional security," as reported in Time magazine on Oct. 2, 1972. Duc was sentenced to three years in prison. He escaped and now lives in France and Sweden. His wife and son are not allowed to leave South Vietnam, though he is in contact with them. He remains in close contact also with the opposition movement in South Vietnam.

Duc is on a two-month trip sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. His visit here is co-sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Sangamon State University.

Photo: October 1, 1971. Ngo Cong Duc addressing the People's Conference (Dai Hoi Nhan Dan), held at the Birth of the Nation Palace. Over 1,000 representatives from religious, political, trade and labor organizations participated in this conference to denounce Thieu's one-man election.



Guest Lecturer From Vietnam: Like Gulliver in the Land of the Giants

BY LIANE NORMAN

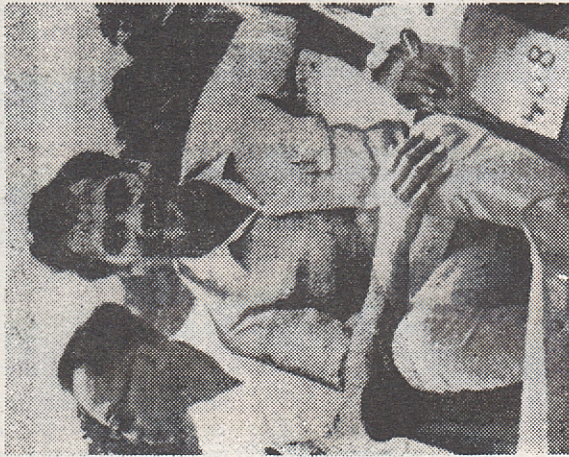
PITTSBURGH—The course in political science is being given in a typical American university classroom, over-bright and overheated. The students, too, are typical, but as the small Vietnamese man begins to speak, they seem immense by comparison. Suddenly, this mass of wide young shoulders, rangy height and bulky, winter-clothed bodies becomes almost oppressive.

It is the speaker, of course, who makes the students loom larger than life. He is slight, fine-boned as a bird. As he speaks, his hands make a delicate ballet of gesture. His voice is soft.

He is, he says, Ngo Cong Duc, an exile from South Vietnam. His father is wealthy, his family eminent and well-connected. He himself was once owner-publisher of a large Saigon newspaper and a deputy in the National Assembly.

Duc explains that as a Catholic anti-Communist, he welcomed American troops at first, confident that they had come to secure "the democratic liberties." He pronounces those words lovingly. Since then, however, he has seen much suffering and destruction.

When he began to oppose President Thieu, editions of his newspaper were confiscated more than 200 times, his house and offices were bombed, his car was burned. Clumsy rigging defeated his candidacy for reelection to the National Assembly. Now he wants all American aid to South Vietnam stopped. He is still steadfastly anti-Communist, but, he says, it is time for cooperation with the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the political arm of the Viet Cong.



AP Photo

Ngo Cong Duc

Duc is a member of the Third Force, a relatively new political group aligned neither with the Thieu regime nor with the PRG. He sees the withdrawal of aid to Thieu as a necessity if the political process is to be reestablished.

As long as Thieu is in power, he says, the PRG will grow stronger. As long as Thieu denies it the right to participate in national politics, the PRG will continue fighting because it has no other way to compete. After all, the PRG has the right to live in South Vietnam, too.

Duc is confident that when the political process is restored, the Third Force will do well at the polls. He makes the point politely, but clearly.

The professor who had invited Duc to give this guest lecture smiles skeptically. Duc, he says, is talking nonsense. The Third Force is not organized. It has no army, no administration.

That is true, replies Duc. Now we cannot organize. Thieu has outlawed our party, and many of us are in jail. But we could win a free election because we are untainted by the war. Yet even if the Provisional Revolutionary Government should win, we could live with that. What we cannot live with is the war and Thieu's corruption.

Duc talks about American anxiety. If you are afraid that, without American dollars, South Vietnam will fall to the Communists, he tells the students, I can say that we are not afraid. We are not anxious about the future.

Like their professor, the tall students are skeptical. It is as if Duc were too small, too frail to bear strong witness. They want guarantees. How can you be sure that the Communists will not take over? How do you know? Sometimes they direct their questions around Duc to the professor, like adults talking around a difficult child.

The students seem to take comfort in the professor's language. He speaks of "alternative scenarios," "options," "hypotheses." He draws a chart on the blackboard—the Communist chain of command.

No, says Duc gently. His hands grope for the English words that momentarily elude

him. You see, the PRG wants peace too: It will need the future support of the people. The PRG, the North Vietnamese, they are not stupid. He presses his hands together, slender fingers at his chin.

If America withdraws its support for Thieu, he would run away. Duc says, his fingers pantomiming flight. But we, the Third Force, will be there.

Duc fears the results of this American anxiety far more than he fears communism. In the last two years, 100,000 Vietnamese have been killed. Could the bloodbath Americans fear if Thieu falls be any worse? If you give

A lecturer in English literature at the University of Pittsburgh, Liane Norman is completing a book on the Indochina war. She has lived and traveled extensively in Asia.

more dollars, he observes, there will be more blood. More people will hate you. Your money is not useful. It is not a good solution.

The professor concurs that without American arms and money, Thieu would fall. He has no popular support. The professor agrees that a man who cannot elicit the support of his people—who must depend on foreign arms and political repression—has no legitimate claim to govern. But the professor is a practical man.

To the students, the abstraction they know as "communism" must, by definition, be the violator of the Paris Agreement. No, says Duc, the PRG wants the Paris agreement implemented. It has everything to gain. To the students this is unacceptable; Communists

are by nature ferocious and false. Like many Americans, these young people probably do not know that the Paris agreement gives the PRG equal status with the Thieu regime, and promises that the United States will not interfere in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. By recognizing the PRG and the Saigon regime as equally legitimate, the agreement converts the military contest into a political one—to be worked out by the Vietnamese.

Duc, a practical and seasoned politician, is confident. He believes in democracy, but more, he believes in his own people.

These Gulliver-like, big-voiced Americans perceive Duc as a child. They do not believe him. What they do believe is that communism is a tireless machine, without human motives, needs or connections. Duc says the people are tired of war and that the PRG has gained the support of the people. This does not impress the students: It sounds too naive, too simple.

The professor bids the students to consider an "alternative scenario," and they relax, comforted by his familiar rhetoric. He must know what he is talking about.

Duc subtly contests the idea that the large Americans in the room are wiser than he, that they know better. He is too civil to put it bluntly, but his repeated "we are not afraid" is a kind of reproach. He believes in democracy—even for the frail little people of South Vietnam. We are there, he says with soft authority. If we, who must live in and rebuild Vietnam, are not afraid, why do you big people worry so much?

Now it is he who is Gulliver, loose among the Brobdingnagians.

Los Angeles Times
March 3rd 1975

Ex-S. Viet Official: U.S. Aid Perverted

By SONYA F. GRAY
Journal-Bulletin Staff Writer

PROVIDENCE — A former high official in the South Vietnamese government said here yesterday that American aid to South Vietnam is used to maintain a repressive police state rife with heroin traffic, smuggling and the illegal

enrichment of government leaders.

He is Ngo Cong Duc, a former member of the South Vietnamese Parliament and former editor-publisher of a leading Saigon newspaper.

His two month speaking tour of the United States comes on the heels of the Ford Adminis-

tration's request for \$300 million in aid to Saigon.

Duc, who describes himself as an advocate of the "Third Force" composed of those in favor of neither South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu nor communism, said in an interview he tried for three years to obtain a visa for the United States. He was not successful, he said, until the recent intercession of several congressmen, including Senators Edward M. Kennedy and George McGovern.

Duc maintains that complete withdrawal of American aid from South Vietnam would both topple the Thieu government and make Communist military intervention in the south politically unprofitable.

He also stated, "We have honest generals, some competent economists," as well as legislators who have the support of the people, to set up a new government.

Duc said that through clandestine contacts he maintains with Saigon, he has learned that seven American companies remain in South Vietnam with staffs which are ostensibly civilian but are, in fact, military and CIA sponsored.

Just this week, the Saigon government arrested journalists and closed down opposition newspapers which had printed a six-count "indictment" of Thieu.

Duc yesterday ticked off the charges by the press against Thieu:

— The president's wife acquired about 1,235 acres of public land for her private use.

— President Thieu acquired

a villa and three buildings owned by the army for his own use.

— Thieu is involved in and protects heroin traffic in South Vietnam. Thieu's brother-in-law is active in the fertilizer black market.

— Mrs. Thieu runs a Saigon hospital supported by contributions from abroad which is a "front" for smuggling activities.

— Thieu's aunt was granted an interest-free loan by a state bank which she reinvested at 28 percent interest.

Of the South Vietnamese heroin traffic, Duc said that the drug is flown and trucked from Thailand and Laos in government planes and trucks by "some of the generals close to Thieu." The drug is distributed chiefly to American soldiers but is also sold to prisoners.

"Nobody in South Vietnam can do that kind of business without the help of Thieu," Duc states. Heroin street sales, he said, are "quite public" and, "I'm sure some of the heroin is sent to the United States."

Duc, who is 39, was general secretary of the Socialist bloc in Vietnam and chairman of parliamentary committees on corruption and information from 1967 to 1971.

Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh, the highest ranking Catholic prelate in the country, is his cousin. Duc's father was assassinated 20 years ago.

Duc was also editor of the "Tin Sang," a major newspaper with a circulation of 100,000, which was critical of the Saigon government and American policies. The news-

paper was firebombed, its issues confiscated and it was finally closed by the government in 1972, when Duc was sentenced to three years in prison.

He then fled from South Vietnam by way of Cambodia and Thailand and now lives in Sweden and France.

His visit to Rhode Island was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

The Evening Bulletin Friday, February 14, 1975

Thieu's Opponents Ask End of American Aid

Washington — (UPI) — A group of South Vietnamese nonCommunist and antiCommunist opponents of Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu have called for an immediate end to American aid to the present Saigon government.

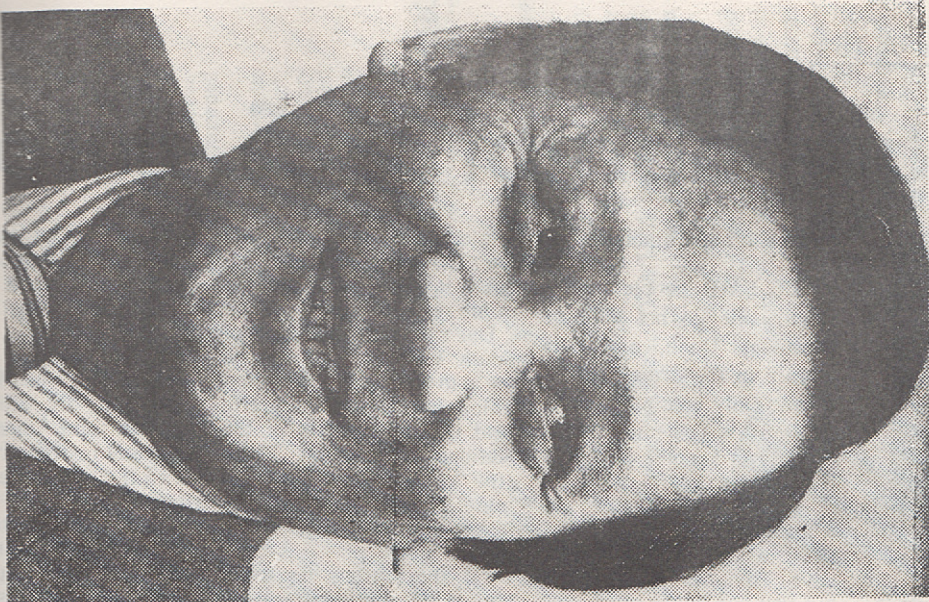
At a news conference yesterday, the four leaders said the only road to peace in South Vietnam was full implementation of the Paris truce agreements signed two years ago.

"The forthcoming failure in South Vietnam will come not because the Thieu regime would have fallen short of a few hundred million dollars, but because of fundamental wrong U. S. policies put by Thieu.

sued to the end," the leaders said.

The four leaders were: Ngo Cong Duc, a Catholic newspaper publisher and a one-time leader of opposition deputies in South Vietnam's lower house; Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, former military commander of central Vietnam, exiled when Thieu assumed power; Duong Minh Duc, son of Gen. Duong Van Minh, South Vietnam's chief of state between 1963-64; and

Truong Dinh Hung, son of Truong Dinh Dzu, South Vietnam's 1967 presidential runner-up who has been jailed for more than five years because of his opposition to Thieu.



Victor From Vietnam: Ngo Cong Duc in Providence.

Journal-Bulletin photo

Thieu foe urges abrupt U. S. cutoff

By Stephen H. Dunphy

A leader in one of South Vietnam's major opposition parties predicted yesterday that the government of President Thieu would fall if the United States refused to give South Vietnam \$300 million in supplemental appropriations.

And that is what Ngo Cong Duc wants because, he told the Downtown Rotary Club, democracy can never return to his country as long as President Thieu is in power.

Duc is a former member of the South Vietnamese National Assembly. He also was editor-publisher of a widely read Saigon newspaper which had a circulation of 100,000 before it was shut



Ngo Cong Duc

down by the government. He is an exile leader of the political "Third Force," which supports neither President Thieu nor the Communists.

"As long as Thieu is in power," Duc said, "South Vietnam will lose more and more and eventually be-

come another Cambodia."

DUC SAID people in the countryside do not support President Thieu, and that morale in the armed forces is low. Only continued United States support and financial aid is keeping Thieu in power, he said.

"If you give more aid what will be the situation?" Duc asked. "You cannot save Thieu or his regime but you can cause more war and more suffering and cause the war to be intensified."

Duc said President Thieu does not want to return to true democratic principles because "he knows he cannot survive them." He accused Thieu of blocking full

implementation of the 1973 Paris Peace Accord because it would mean the end of his regime.

Duc said that the future of South Vietnam will not be communist if President Thieu left the country. He said that a majority of the National Liberation Front (the Viet-Cong) came from middle and upper-class professionals, intellectuals and land owners.

"If there were no more United States interference, no more Saigon regime, then there would be no more reason to fight," Duc said. "If they (the communists and their supporters) continued to fight they would be condemned by the world."

He said the North Viet-

namese cannot take South Vietnam by force because they do not have the military strength to take and hold the country.

DUC'S NEWSPAPER criticized the Saigon government and American policies and called for the withdrawal of United States forces.

The paper was temporarily suspended eight times in 1968 and 1969. Issues of the paper were confiscated times in 1970 and 1972.

It was closed in February 1972, by the government. Duc was sentenced to 10 years in prison for his position to the government. He fled the country and received asylum in Sweden where he now lives.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE POLITICAL EXILE

NGÔ CONG ĐỨC

FORMER EDITOR & CONGRESSPERSON

speaking on
democracy vs empire—
the u.s. in vietnam

seattle u. library
11th & e. columbia
thurs, march 6
8 pm

Thieu Regime Doomed, Ex-Viet Solon Declares

Continuing American aid to South Vietnam will only intensify the war, prolong suffering and, in the end, the Saigon government will fall, anyway, a former South Vietnamese congressman said here yesterday.

"Conditions in South Vietnam are getting worse and worse every year," said Ngo Cong Duc, "and if (Pres. Nguyen Van) Thieu remains in power South Vietnam will lose more and more."

"You cannot save the Saigon regime. You cannot save Thieu. If you continue your (U.S.) policy you will have to increase your aid to South Vietnam every year and every year, the war will be intensified and you know you never can succeed."

Duc, a former newspaper publisher whose holdings were confiscated and who fled the country to escape prison, said the Thieu government has lost the popular support and that Thieu "trusts the corrupt people and mistrusts the non-corrupt people."

Starvation is a problem



NGO CONG DUC

"Stop U.S. Aid"

In South Vietnam today, he said, where in former years the rice crops were abundant enough to feed both North and South Vietnam and still export to other countries.

The strongest anti-communists in South Vietnam also are opposed to Thieu, he said, and advocate halting U.S. aid to the Saigon government.

Most of the "Third Force" for which Duc is a spokesman is made up of those "from rich families and of the bourgeois class," he said. Many, like Duc, are Catholics. gov- A "Third Force"

ernment could stamp out corruption, restore morale in the army and win popular support, he contended, if the Thieu government were forced out of power.

He said North Vietnam is not capable militarily of taking South Vietnam by force and does not want to politically but is forced to

fight because Thieu will not implement the Paris Peace Agreement.

A popular South Vietnamese government could help North Vietnam establish relations with the Western powers and weaken its ties to the USSR and China, he predicted.

Duc, who now lives in Sweden, is winding up a

two and one half-month speaking tour in this country sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

He spoke yesterday to the Seattle Rotary Club and will be on the University of Washington campus today.

The Rotarians' new officers were also announced

at the meeting. James B. Scroggs, general manager of Sears, Roebuck & Co. here, was elected president, succeeding Durwood L. Alkire.

James G. McCurdy was named first vice president, Frank A. Dupar Jr., active vice president, and Albert G. Howell, secretary-treasurer.

Post-Intelligencer

THE VOICE OF THE NORTHWEST SINCE 1888

The Today Show

Fri., Mar. 7, 1975

WELL, IT seems we have a couple of film premieres in our midst. First, there's the made-in-Seattle porno flick, "The Last Bath," playing at the Apple Theater, and on Sunday night, at the



Cinema, a "Funny Lady" with Barbra Streisand and Omar Sharif. I don't know if the former will help the mentally retarded, but the latter certainly will: the "Funny Lady" premiere (Northwest, not world) will benefit the Special Olympics for the mentally retarded — for 12 bucks you get the film, champagne reception and a closed-circuit big-name show... Ngo Cong Duc, the ex-Vietnamese legislator and journalist, was asked in a Central Lutheran Church appearance Wed. night, "If the U.S. stopped giving aid to Thieu, don't you think that would result in a lot more fighting?" "Certainly not," replied Duc, "he'd leave the country immediately." "Where would he go?" came the next question, "to Paris or the Riviera?" Duc: "He'd go to San Clemente and look up Nixon."

Censored South Vietnamese editor tells why he left homeland

by Ron Chew

Ngo Cong Duc is in Seattle to speak about censorship of the press. He's here to speak about South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu.

Duc, editor and publisher of a prominent South Vietnamese newspaper "Tin Sang," which was closed down by Thieu in 1972, arrived in Seattle yesterday on the last leg of a nationwide speaking tour sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization.

Duc said yesterday of Thieu, "He doesn't want to have democracy. He doesn't accept the democratic liberties all his critics accept. He has closed down five papers and arrested 24 journalists."

Duc, obviously tired from a heavy speaking schedule, noted that despite the closure of his newspaper, his former assistant editor, Ho Ngoc Nhan, is continuing in opposition efforts against Thieu.

Duc's newspaper was suspended numerous times by the Saigon regime. Issues of the paper were confiscated, the newspaper office and his home were fire-bombed. Finally, the paper was closed in 1972 and Duc was taken to prison.

While he was in prison, Duc said, he was not tortured. He said, "I stayed in one room, but the odor was bad." He said the prison cells were so small that the prisoners did not "have enough room to lie down."

"There were 600 prisoners in the prison where I was. Two months later in that prison, there were 800 because it was close to the elections."

"There was torture in the prison,"

Duc said. "People who have money, who can pay some money, can avoid the torture."

He noted that most of the prison inmates were charged with being pro-communist or National Liberation Front members.

Duc said he spoke with the Pope in 1970, asking the Pope to lend his efforts to achieving peace in Vietnam. Duc recounted, "he said that he would pray. He said he suffered much seeing the Vietnamese people die and that he would pray the war would be stopped."

"I said that was not enough, that he should do something more than simply pray."

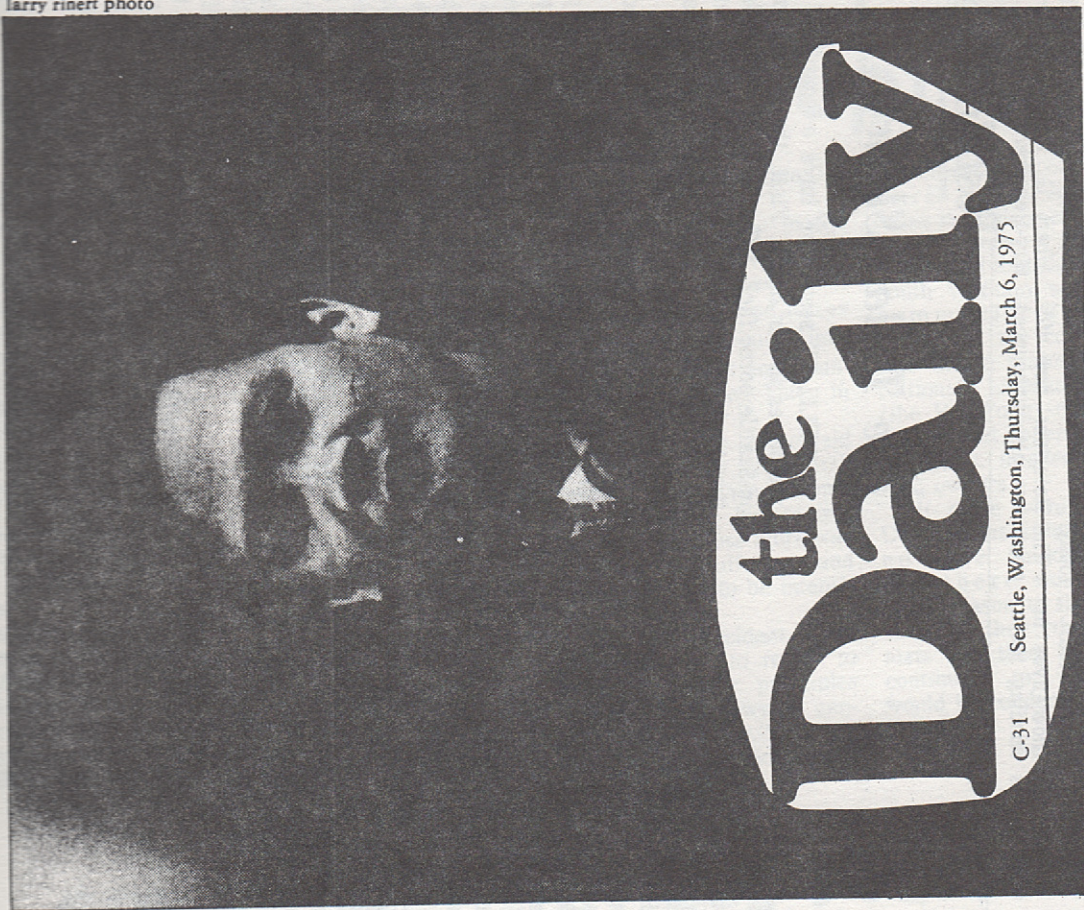
Duc ran for a seat in the National Assembly in 1971, but lost after being subjected to various tactics of his government opponents.

"They burned my car," Duc said. They came to my home with long knives. They sent people to beat me."

Duc described one incident during the campaign where he hit his opponent after his opponent had spit in his face. Duc said he was arrested for this. Later he was released after pressure by people in the Vietnamese assembly.

Duc said he left Vietnam in 1972 shortly after being released from prison. The National Assembly, he said, called for his release by a vote of 98 to 6.

"I ran away," he said. "I left my country by traveling through Cambodia and Thailand and I flew to Sweden. When I was in Thailand, I knew Bangkok well so I could get out of the country." It was difficult, he remarked, to travel "through two borders without papers." He said that at one point in his escape, he traveled within 200 meters of



Cambodian Premier Lon Nol's office.

Duc, a leader of the "Third Force" composed of those who support neither Thieu nor the Communists, is now in exile.

Asked if he expects that he will be able to return to Vietnam, he said, "Sure. This year."

He paused, then said, laughing, "I must be optimistic."

Duc will speak in the HUB ballroom today at 1:30 p.m.

"I will speak about the political and military situation in South Vietnam and our position on the United States military aid, which we oppose," Duc said. "The main reason I oppose the military aid is that it will intensify the war and cause more problems for the Vietnamese people."

He said the money being spent in Vietnam by the U.S. should be kept by the United States to spend on the American people.

"There was torture in the prison," escape, he traveled within 200 meters of today at 1:30 p.m.

Exiled Leader's Report:

Saigon Yes, Gen. Thieu No, Say S. Vietnamese Catholics

The majority of Catholics in South Vietnam support the South Vietnamese government but would like to see its leader, President Nguyen Van Thieu, ousted, an exiled former member of the South Vietnamese National Assembly said at Portland this week.

The exile, Ngo Cong Duc, one of only a few Catholic members of the Third Force—a faction supporting neither Thieu nor the Communists' Provisional Revolutionary Government—and a relative of Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh of Saigon, said Catholics, 12 per cent of the country's 19 million people, can no longer tolerate Thieu's corrupt government.

Duc's appearance at a Lloyd Center restaurant Tuesday afternoon was sponsored by Clergy and Laity Concerned and the Fellowship for Reconciliation.

Duc said that while many Catholics, including Archbishop Biph, do not share the goals of the Third Force, his work with that political organization has the support of the archbishop.

Last year Archbishop Binh supported an anti-corruption movement against Thieu led by Remptorist Father Tran Huu Thanh. "Today in every diocese there are anti-corruption committees formed by the priests and a committee in each parish. They work with Father Thanh and are very effective and active in the effort to overthrow Mr. Thieu," Duc said.

"The anti-corruption movement published the first of two indict-

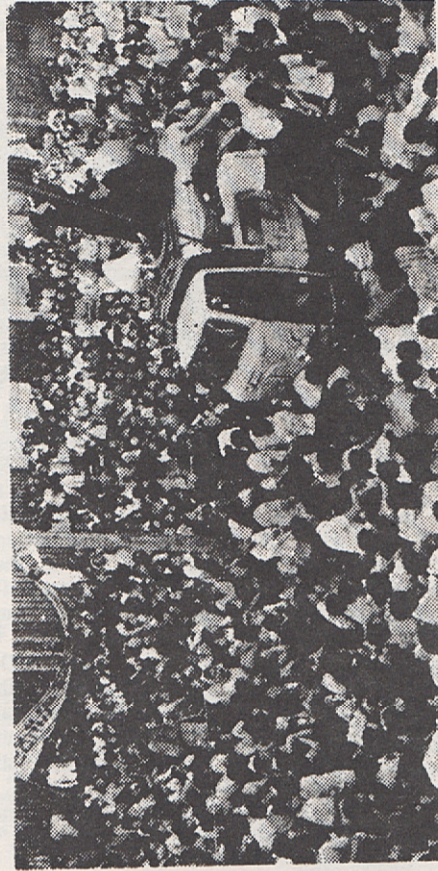
ments against Thieu accusing him and his family of six crimes of corruption," Duc said. That was the end of the good relations between the Saigon government and the Catholic Church. That indictment has the goal to overthrow Thieu.

"The second indictment accused Thieu of high treason. Thieu's reaction to the charges was that the Catholic Church is now working for the Communists, which is what they accused me of doing."

Catholic Sentinel
Portland, Mar. 7, 75.

Duc said Catholics organize at churches every Sunday after Mass. He said Thieu is virtually powerless to stop such activity because the police do not cooperate with him.

"You cannot reconcile Thieu and the Catholic Church in Saigon; it's too late. Catholics were accused of being accomplices of Thieu and they are working to change the association some have of the Church with suffering in Saigon," he said.



Father Thanh, president, and Father Dinh, vice president, of the People's Anti-Corruption Movement addressing a rally.

Pasadena Star-News
MAR. 11 - 75

Thieu Foe Opposes Aid in Pasadena Talk

A top South Vietnam political figure and strong opponent of President Nguyen Van Thieu Monday said he is opposed to further U.S. aid to Vietnam and claimed if U.S. aid was cut off, Thieu would leave the country.

Ngo Cong Duc spoke in Pasadena during his two-month tour of the United States while in political exile from his native land.

"I can't see adding to the \$200 million you have already spent to maintain a corrupt regime in South Vietnam," Duc said.

He disputed some military sources, saying the threat to his country does not come from North Vietnam but from inside the Thieu regime.

Duc was a member of the South Vietnamese parliament and editor-publisher of the daily newspaper Tin Sang before his 1971 exile.

He said he was arrested and imprisoned by Thieu forces before fleeing the country and claimed several ballots cast in his favor, were destroyed by the Thieu regime while he was a candidate for re-election to parliament in 1971.

His newspaper was confiscated, its offices and the home fire-bombed and the paper finally ceased publication in 1972.

Colo. House Bars Thieu Foe Talk

By FRED BROWN
Denver Post Staff Writer

A former leading opposition figure in the South Vietnamese government was denied permission Thursday to make a "partisan" statement in the chambers of the Colorado House of Representatives.

Instead, Ngo Cong Duc was asked to confine his remarks to general greetings and an invitation to legislators to join him for an informal noon meeting in the State Capitol basement.

Duc had prepared a statement urging the end of all U.S. aid to the Thieu government in South Vietnam. "It helps Thieu to prolong and intensify the war, to maintain a corrupt dictatorial regime and to make it more difficult for the South Vietnamese people to restore peace," the statement said.

'3rd Force Greetings'

But what he did instead was to "bring you greetings" from the "majority" of the people in South Vietnam — "the third force," he said, who support neither the existing government nor a Communist takeover.

"I am sorry that I am not allowed to make my whole . . . statement," Duc said. He said he was sure that "the majority of you want to listen to the aspirations of the South Vietnamese people."

Duc, who has been touring the United States for two months, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, was invited into the House chamber as the guest of Rep. Wayne Knox, D-Denver. He came with enough copies of his statement to distribute to all 65 desks.

Not 'Proper Forum'

Rep. Ronald Strahle, R-Fort Collins, asked for a recess in the normal day's proceedings after he read the statement. He huddled with the House leadership and with Knox. "I don't think this is the proper forum to discuss the internal affairs of another nation on a partisan basis," Strahle was overheard to say.

House Speaker Ruben Valdez, D-Denver, told Duc after the meeting with Strahle to confine his remarks to general greetings and an invitation to the noon meeting. Then he explained to the full House what had happened.

"I as speaker had to make what I consider a personally disturbing decision," Valdez said.

Auto Firms Urge Congress To Avoid Fuel Measures

WASHINGTON — (AP) — The nation's big three automakers are urging Congress not to impose mandatory fuel economy standards or to penalize buyers of large, gas-thirsty cars.

Spokesmen for the manufacturers testified before the Senate Commerce Committee Wednesday after Ralph Nader told the panel the automakers cannot be trusted to meet President Ford's goal of a 40 per cent increase in fuel efficiency by 1980 without mandatory standards and penalties for noncompliance.

But Valdez said he didn't want to "open the doors" to allow "any member to bring anybody in" to express partisan views. It could end, for instance, with a speaker from the Ku Klux Klan being invited to speak from the floor, Knox said.

'Surprised' at Denial

Duc, at a press conference after the episode in the House, told reporters he hasn't attempted to speak to legislative sessions elsewhere in the United States,

although he has met with individual state legislators and with members of Congress.

He said he was "surprised" that he had been denied permission to give his statement. "I didn't understand the reason some legislators in Colorado do not want to listen," he said.

Duc was a deputy in the South Vietnam National Assembly, general secretary of the socialist bloc and editor-in-chief of Tin Sang, the country's largest opposition newspaper. He is now living in Europe.



NGO CONG DUC, ACCOMPANIED BY AIDE, ARRIVES AT HOUSE
He voiced greetings from South Vietnam's "third force."

Vietnamese denied right to speak in Colo. house

DENVER — Ngo Cong Duc, a former Vietnamese newspaper editor who will speak today on campus as part of WAC, was denied the opportunity to address the Colorado House of Representatives Thursday. Duc will speak at 4 p.m. in Guggenheim 201.

Legislative leaders decided his partisan remarks might open the way for others to demand time to voice political opinions.

Duc's prepared remarks urged lawmakers to withdrawn all U.S. support to President Nguyen Van Thieu, whom Duc termed a "corrupt dictator and the obstacle to peace."

Rep. Ron Strahle (R-Fort Collins) huddled with House Speaker Ruben Valdez and Rep. Wayne Knox (D-Denver) before Duc was to make his remarks. Duc was Knox's guest on the House floor.

Strahle told the two, "I don't think this is the proper forum to discuss internal affairs of another nation on a partisan basis."

Valdez reluctantly agreed, and told the lawmakers that he was forced to make a "personally disturb-

ing ruling" in not allowing the former editor to speak.

Allowing him to express political opinions would open the floor to anyone, Valdez said, "and I just don't think that we're going to get into that kind of thing."

Duc told the lawmakers that he was sorry he was not to be allowed to deliver his prepared speech about the position of the majority of the South Vietnamese people.

Later, Duc told reporters it was his first attempt to speak at a legislature, and he doubts he'll try again because he doesn't want to be refused his request to give his speech.

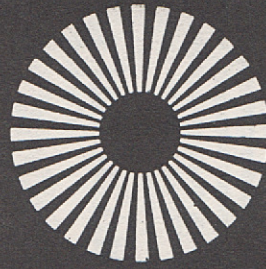
He said he wished the legislature would "listen to the reasons we refuse aid," so that the country could "stop the suffering and the killing, and we can solve our problems."

He said American aid is prolonging the fighting and is propping up Thieu.

continued on page 5

eighty-second year of editorial freedom

Colorado Daily



Vol. 23, No. 171

Friday, March 15, 1975

Boulder, Colorado

5 cents/Free on campus

Former Viet editor is denied chance to address legislators

Associated Press

A former editor of a leading Vietnamese daily newspaper, Ngo Cong Duc, was denied an opportunity Thursday to address the Colorado House of Representatives.

Legislative leaders decided his partisan remarks might open the way for others to demand time to voice political opinions.

Duc's prepared remarks urged lawmakers to withdraw all U.S. support to President Nguyen Van Thieu, whom Duc termed a "corrupt dictator, and the obstacle to peace."

Republican Rep. Ron Strahle huddled with House Speaker Ruben Valdez and Democrat Rep. Wayne Knox before Duc was to make his remarks. Duc was Knox's guest on the House floor.

Strahle told the two, "I don't think this is the proper forum to discuss the internal affairs of another nation on a partisan basis."

Valdez reluctantly agreed, and told the lawmakers that he was forced to make a "personally disturbing ruling" in not allowing the former editor to speak.

Valdez ruled that Duc could limit his remarks to a greeting.

Allowing him to express political opinions would open the floor to anyone, Valdez said, "and I just don't think that we're going to get into that kind of thing."

Duc told the lawmakers that he was sorry he was not to be allowed to deliver his prepared speech about the position of the majority of the South Vietnamese people.

Later, Duc told reporters it was his first attempt to speak at a legislature, and he doubts he'll try again because he doesn't want to be refused a request to give his speech.

"I don't understand the reason some legislators in Colorado do not want to hear the voice of the Vietnamese," he said.

He said he wished the Legislature would "listen to the reasons we refuse aid," so that the country could "stop the suffering and the killing, and we can solve our problems."

He said American aid is prolonging the fighting and is propping up Thieu.

Duc was a congressman in the Saigon National Assembly from 1967 to 1971, and publisher-editor of the largest daily paper in South Vietnam, Tin Sang (Morning News).

He was chairman of the Vietnamese Association of Newspaper Editors. When he printed accounts of torture in his country's prisons and called for U.S. withdrawal in editorials, he said his newspaper's publication was suspended eight times, confiscated 285 times, and his office and home bombed.

He said he was jailed and sentenced to prison, then fled the country. Thieu ordered his property confiscated.

The 39-year-old Duc now lives in Europe, although his wife and son are forced to remain in Vietnam, he said. His Colorado tour is being sponsored by the Denver office of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization.

U.S. aid won't

save Thieu, says exiled foe

By Larry Green

A leading opponent of South Vietnam's government predicted that President Nguyen Van Thieu won't last another year in office, even if the United States continues to provide aid to his government.

Ngo Cong Duc, exiled publisher of a major opposition Saigon newspaper, also said Thieu probably would flee if and were cut off by Congress.

"He (Thieu) is becoming more and more isolated, and he is now fighting with everybody," said Duc.

The newsmen, at a Monday press conference in the offices of the American Friends Service Committee here, said Thieu was now quarrelling with ranking Vietnamese generals who have supported him in the past. Thieu also is at odds with



Nguyen Van Thieu

the Hoa Hao's, a militant anti-Communist religious sect that has been shooting it out recently with Thieu's army and police, Duc said.

"HE HAS enemies everywhere now," Duc added. "He's acting like a crazy man." Duc, 39, has emerged in the

11 Yank civilians hurt

SAIGON (AP) — Eleven American civilians were slightly injured Tuesday when a boy on a motorbike hurled a tomato can filled with explosives into a bus.

The men were riding to work at Lear Siegler Inc., an Oklahoma City aircraft maintenance firm working for the South Vietnamese at Bien Hoa, 15 miles northeast of Saigon, a U.S. Embassy spokesman said.

Last few years as a spokesman for the "third force," an amorphous group of South Vietnamese opposed to Thieu and American involvement that believes its participation in government would lead to reconciliation with the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong).

A former member of South

Vietnam's National Assembly,

Duc filed early in 1972 after he was ordered jailed for alleged violations of the nation's press code or censorship laws. His paper, *Im Sang*, was closed by the government in 1972 after almost 300 issues were confiscated by the police in the preceding two years.

THE THIRD FORCE cannot

organize more effectively in South Vietnam, Duc said, because "there is no democracy."

"If discovered, (our supporters) would be jailed," he said.

He is opposed to any additional U.S. aid to the country explaining that Thieu would even use economic aid to continue to prosecute the war. A cutoff in aid, he believes, would create conditions that would lead to reconciliation and peace.

"The most aid we have, the worse the political and military situation becomes," Duc said.

"If the United States continues its current policy towards South Vietnam (that country) will become another Cambodia," Duc said.

"When the aid stops, Thieu

To the editor:

On Monday afternoon, Feb. 3, at Mt. Holyoke College, an audience of approximately 50 people learned about the internal situation in South Vietnam from Mr. Ngo Cong Duk, the former editor-in-chief of the South Vietnamese newspaper *Tin Sang* (Morning News). Mr. Duk was imprisoned, then exiled, after writing editorials calling for withdrawal of the U.S. forces. He is now an articulate spokesperson in the U.S. for the Third Force, a large group in South Vietnam favoring nonviolent opposition to Thieu, leading to the establishment of a coalition government as called for in the Paris Peace Accords.

Mr. Duk's message was simple. Thieu is universally regarded by his own

people as a criminal. They cannot understand why the U.S. Government continues to aid him. They want the aid to stop, because they know that without it, Thieu's military control of the country will end, and they can begin the long task of rebuilding.

Mr. Duk, a non-Communist, was not worried about a Communist takeover in South Vietnam after Thieu's collapse. He cited two reasons why he thinks this idea is a myth. First, a majority of the members of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the National Liberation Front (the Viet Cong) are nationalists, not Communists. They join to oppose Thieu and survive, and they feel little or no allegiance with any international Communist

movement. Second, these so-called Communist forces in South Vietnam number only 300,000, compared to several million in the Saigon forces. With these odds, Mr. Duk predicted that the fighting would stop and the Paris Peace Accords would be implemented with the end of the Thieu regime.

Mr. Duk reflected in conclusion that Thieu cannot win his war, despite the billions we have sent him, because he does not have the support of his people. Our "aid" is not reaching them. In Mr. Duk's words, we should "let Mr. Thieu run away," and then help South Vietnam recover.

Lewis C. Johnson
Abbey Hall
Mt. Holyoke College

'Let Thieu run away,' says Vietnam editor

your opinion

Viet peace seen if U.S. halts aid

A halt to American military aid to South Vietnam would eventually produce a peaceful coalition government, cooperation with North Vietnam and a unification of the country, according to a former Saigon editor.

Ngo Cong Duc, former publisher of the Saigon Tin Sang (Morning News), said in an interview that continued military aid by the United States to his country does not help to fight communism, promotes widespread corruption and fails to give the South Vietnamese a "sense of freedom."

Duc said the only way to bring real peace to his country is to implement the Paris peace treaty and work for peace "perhaps for 10 years, not any shorter."

Duc said the Saigon regime had eventually closed his 100,000-circulation paper in 1972 after years of confiscating issues and temporary suspensions.

He said issues of his paper were confiscated 285 times in two years before the final closure.

The paper was established in 1968. Charges of threatening his country's security were used as a pretense to shut down his presses, Duc said. In reality, it was his continued opposition to the policies of the Thieu regime that brought reprisals, he said.

Duc said he believes that if Premier Thieu is forced out of office and American military aid stopped, "we would eventually have a good coalition government."

Duc said he is unable to return to South Vietnam and has been threatened with prison if he attempts to go back.

Duc said North Vietnam does not want to take over South Vietnam by force and "they are unable to do it, any way."

"But," he added, "if the present policies of the Saigon regime continue, the south will be under the control of the north within a few years. We can't escape it."

Duc is touring the United States under the sponsorship of the American Friends Committee.

The State Journal-Register, Springfield, Wednesday, March 19, 1975

Page 43

Publisher claims U.S. aid prolonging S. Viet conflict

by Joanne Long

If U.S. aid to South Vietnam were stopped, the country would have peace, said a former Saigon newspaper publisher who visited Springfield Tuesday.

"The people do not want to fight and maintain a corrupt regime. If the aid stops, Thieu would leave and we would stop fighting," said

Ngo Cong Duc in a news conference at the downtown campus of Sangamon State University.

Duc's paper, Tin Sang (Morning News), the second largest paper in South Vietnam with a circulation of 100,000, was closed by the Thieu government in early 1972 for publishing articles criticizing the government. Duc is exiled and would be imprisoned if he returned to this country, he says.

But Duc predicts that

Thieu won't stay in power for long.

"He is isolated," said Duc. "All the main religions oppose him. The people totally oppose him. The press totally opposes him. Seven of his generals are fighting him," said Duc.

He said there are no dividends for the United States in supporting either the government of Thieu in South Vietnam or Lon Nol in Cambodia. If U.S. money stopped, said Duc, the way would be open for a peaceful political solution.

Duc is a Catholic and an anti-Communist. He said he doesn't think most of his countrymen prefer Communism, but if they voted in favor of a Communist government it would be satisfactory to him.

If a coalition government were formed and Commu-

nists dominated it, that also would be preferable to continued war, said Duc. "I would accept that. It would give us more chance of survival."

A French journalist, Paul Leandri, was shot and killed by Saigon police last week-end after he tried to leave a compound where he was questioned about one of his stories.

"I wish the American press would show solidarity and protest the killing," Duc said.

He said there is no press freedom in South Vietnam. Years of suppression of newspapers have been effective in silencing the opposition, he said.

Duc spoke at the press conference prior to an evening speech at SSU. He is concluding a 10-week tour of the United States, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. His visit here was co-sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and SSU.



Ngo Cong Duc

TOTEM

THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE ROTARY CLUB OF SEATTLE

Annual Meeting Ngo Cong Duc "IMPACT OF U.S. AID ON SOUTH VIETNAMESE OPPOSITION"

March 5, 1975

THIS WEEK



Ngo Cong Duc

With the Congress having to face yet another decision on aid to South Vietnam, a program related to affairs there seems warranted.

Ngo Cong Duc is on a tour of the United States and has agreed to address Seattle Rotary. Mr. Duc is a former member of the South Vietnam parliament and former newspaper publisher. He has been in exile in Sweden and France since 1972.

COMING UP

March 19—Bob Richards, economist, Nat'l Bank of Alaska. Inter-City visit by Anchorage Rotary

April 25-27—Fellowship Weekend at Harrison Hot Springs

May 16-18—District 503 Conference, Juneau, Alaska

June 8-12—Rotary International Convention. Montreal

LAST WEEK

AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE
PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
814 N.E. 40TH STREET, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98105



2

For openers, after the National Anthem, DAVE COLWELL, put the meeting into global perspective and asked that we listen without prejudice to our guest speaker. Thirty-five visitors were welcomed. STEVE BURGER noted that the Union Gospel Mission helped those in need who appear to be getting younger all the time, and WALLY NELSKOG related the story of his business acumen as owner of KIXI the second time around. Numerous members were recognized for their contributions and new members DON DYSON and PETE HEMP were introduced.

Ngo Cong Duc, one time South Vietnamese legislator and newspaper publisher, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, then spoke on the impact of U.S. aid to South Vietnamese opposition. Now exiled in Sweden, Duc deplored present U.S. financial aid to South Vietnam which falls into the hands of Thieu who maintains a police state which is disruptive to South Vietnamese unity. Duc's solution sounded quite simple: the U.S. should withdraw money from South Vietnam. Thieu will go away, all the other militant factors will make peace and South Vietnam will proceed to shore up its economy. The Communists from North Vietnam, who identify with the Third World and not with China or Russia, will maintain a hands off policy because of world opinion and the threat of further intervention by the U.S.

This reviewer has been a steadfast bigot against U.S. participation in Vietnam since the Gulf of Tonkin. In all the years since then, Duc is the first foreigner to my knowledge who asked for less money rather than more. Let's hear it for Ngo Cong Duc. Whatever his motives, he came on like a breath of fresh air in a world of political smog. You don't suppose it's really been that simple all along, do you?

Svea Sauer

To: AFSC Peace Ed Secretaries - Regional and Area Date:
From: Louise A. Sims *DeWitt* April 3, 1975
Subject: NGO CONG DUC - Return Visit to U.S.

Ngo Cong Duc will be returning to the U.S. the end of April and is willing to do some speaking from April 28 through the month of May. He wishes to spend the month of June in Washington, D.C.

Duc will be coming to the U.S. at his own expense and is hoping that sufficient speaking with honoraria might be arranged so that he can recover the money he spent on getting to and from the U.S. It is not his intention (nor is it in the terms of his visa) to earn money - he merely wishes to recoup what he spent.

Duc is hoping that many of you will be able to find paying opportunities for him - in the form of college commencement addresses, Distinguished Visitor, etc. which would pay a substantial sum. If we work closely on this we might find several in one geographical area and the travel costs could be combined. A case in point: I had a call from someone at Kent State who wants him to be the chief speaker at their May 4th commemoration of the Kent State shootings. This would be an ideal platform for Duc. However, though they can pay for his round trip travel (as from Phila.), they cannot pay an honorarium. John Looney, in the meantime, is looking around to see what other possibilities there might be to make it financially worthwhile for Duc. If the Dayton regional and area folks could scurry about a bit and find something that might pay a nice honorarium, it would help. Or maybe another region (S.E., Midwest, North Central) could find a paying engagement close to that date and take advantage of the saving in travel expenses. I am hoping that I might accept the Kent State invitation because of its tragic symbolism and international significance, but this would be the only one on which I would make an exception (if indeed I can make this one exception).

Duc made a tremendous impact all around the country, as those of you who scheduled him can testify. Many of you (those who have not met Duc and have not yet scheduled him) will find attached a sheet containing evaluations from the AFSC offices which recently scheduled him. Later, I will try to send packets out with background material and news clippings from his tour. I am pushed to the walls with other pressures and getting these things copied and separated and mailed will take some time.

I hope many of you will respond by telephone if at all possible. Though no specific honorarium is requested, it is hoped that you will try to secure a significant amount in addition, of course, to his expenses. If I start to hear from some of you I can then telephone others to try to tie things together.

MEMORANDUM

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Suea Sauer

To: Regional and Area Office Peace Ed Secretaries
Nationwide PED Committee

Date:
April 9, 1975

From: Louise A. Sims - Speakers Service PED

Devin

Subject: N G O C O N G D U C - Report on his Nationwide Tour

Attached is a report in the form chiefly of news clippings which Ngo Cong Duc put together himself just before he left the U.S. Unfortunately, as you can see, many of the pieces were not of a fit quality for satisfactory reproduction. But, however poor the reproduction, these news clippings do reflect a useful and successful nationwide tour.

As Duc mentions in the foreward, he met many Senators and Congress-people, addressed a number of seminars, testified before the House Subcommittee on Human Rights, met with many religious leaders, spoke across the length and breadth of the U.S. at numerous universities and schools and on 80 TV and radio stations. More than 100 newspapers covered his talks.

We are grateful for having had the pleasure and opportunity of meeting and working with him.

.....

2117014604
MINCAT 39,937 MAIN



THE GENERAL LIBRARIES
THE UNIVERSITY
OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

PRESENTED BY

American Friends
Service Committee